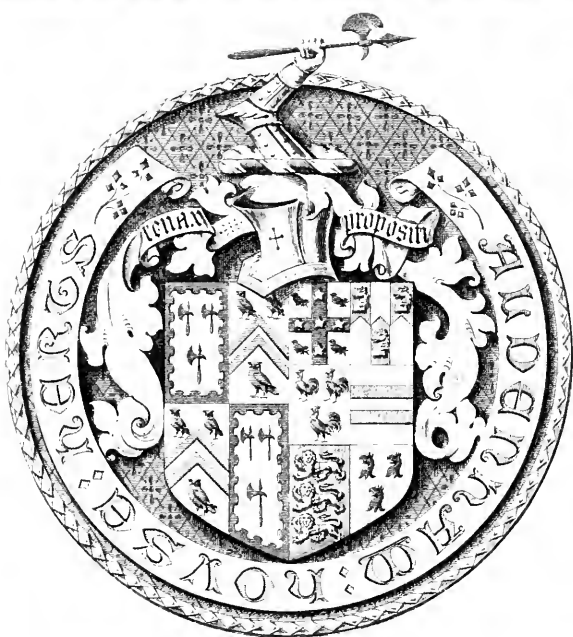


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*George Henry Gibbs*  
*April 10<sup>th</sup> 1871.*

# A U S T R I A.

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VOLUME I.



# A U S T R I A.

BY

PETER EVAN TURNBULL, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS.

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L O N D O N :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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MDCCCXL.

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LONDON :  
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,  
Stamford Street.



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## P R E F A C E.

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IN the various countries wherein I have happened to be a temporary resident, I have felt great interest in the acquisition of such knowledge as might be within my reach, with respect to the genius and the effects of their established institutions. Without the slightest idea of publication, I continued the same line of inquiry during my stay in the Austrian dominions. Circumstances of a peculiar nature favoured my pursuit; and, on my last return to England, I found myself possessed of much information, tending to elucidate a variety of points hitherto, as it appeared to me, very imperfectly understood, and leading also to views, both as to the government and the people, materially different from those which I had myself, in common probably with most of my countrymen, previously entertained. Hence I was led to conceive that I might not be performing an

altogether superfluous or unwelcome office, in submitting to the public some portion of the results which had followed my researches; and consequently, as early as the autumn of last year, a work was announced on the subject, intended to conclude with such notices of our travels as related to the southern provinces of the empire.

On preparing the manuscript however for the press, I perceived that details collected only for private use exhibited various lacunæ, little important perhaps in themselves, but which it would be expedient to fill up, in order that the course of observations, in which they occurred, might be satisfactorily and conveniently followed. For this purpose I was obliged to recur to the proper sources of information in the countries on which I was treating; —and this has necessarily caused considerable delay. On further consideration, also, I have extended the personal narrative, so as to comprehend a larger portion of our travels in the Austrian States than had been originally proposed; and this portion of the work, exhibiting men and things in their outward appearance as they may be viewed by the passing stranger, has been altered in point of arrangement, so as to precede, rather than to follow,

the more important attempt to explain the causes and circumstances by which their real condition is produced or affected.

Thus, in the order now adopted, the first volume contains the "Narrative of Travels," being remarks and reflections made in the course of our journey through the most interesting parts of Bohemia, the states of Austria and Styria, the Illyrian Provinces, and the Peninsula of Istria;—including, besides the more prominent objects of general interest, notices of the antiquities and present condition of Pola; of the commercial ports of Fiume and Trieste; of the monastic establishments of Admont Mölk, and Mariazell; of the mines of Idria; and of Carlsbad, Gastein, and other principal Baths;—together with some account of the exiled royal family of France, who were then residing in the vicinity of Prague. The second volume comprises the notices on the social and political condition of the empire, arranged with reference to its various most important elements,—religion, education, morality, jurisprudence, feudal and municipal institutions, civil and military administrations, and domestic and foreign policy. It has been my endeavour mainly to relieve the former volume of such observations as relate to

statistical and political subjects, and to transfer them to those chapters in the latter to which they respectively belong. Should I, in this attempt, not have entirely escaped repetitions, I trust the difficulty attending the separation will be admitted as my excuse.

The political and social state of Hungary has been incidentally mentioned in several chapters, as the subjects to which they respectively relate have rendered it expedient to do so; and in the one on “Internal Policy” will be found a general outline of the existing constitution. Having studied it both in its theory and its practice, with an interest proportioned to its singularity, during a residence in the country for several months, at a period when the Diet was sitting, I regret that it has been impossible for me, in a work like the present, to render a full and just account of institutions so peculiar both in their structure and their bearings. If my health should allow me, I may possibly be tempted to submit hereafter to the public a separate essay on that distinct subject.

Of the sources from whence my statements and reflections are derived, some are in their nature open to all, while others are of a more private and

peculiar character. In Austria, as in several other countries, I have found myself in relations of great intimacy with individuals of various ranks—some in the more lowly walks of life, and some in the most elevated stations—whose friendship has been productive to me, not only of high enjoyment in my social hours, but of the most useful and varied information. By a comparison of facts and sentiments thus obtained, I have endeavoured to arrive at truth ; but the private communications with which I have been favoured I have used with the greatest caution, and never without having satisfied myself that in so doing I had the sanction of those from whom I received them.

The chapter on “ Foreign Policy ” contains some paragraphs which have already appeared in print ; having formed part of a short pamphlet, entitled “ British Diplomacy and Turkish Independence,” which I published anonymously in the early part of last year. The object of that pamphlet was to exhibit the general condition of the Ottoman Empire and the innovations introduced by the then reigning Sovereign—the genius and results of that singularly able policy whereby Russia carries into effect her plans of gradual aggrandisement—and the necessity

on the part of **E**ngland, for her own vital interests, that she should adopt a total change of system, both in her local diplomacy at Constantinople and in her general policy amid the states of **E**urope. I may add that subsequent events are but too unhappily concurring, to confirm the views and substantiate the statements which I then advanced.



## CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

---

### CHAPTER I.

Leave Dresden—Saxon Switzerland—Bastey—Schandau—Pröbischer Thor—Elbe—Enter Bohemia—Contrast of Appearance—Arbesau—Battle of Culm—Teplitz—Baths—Environs—Mode of Life—King of Prussia—Von Humboldt . . . Page 1

### CHAPTER II.

Journey to Carlsbad—Carlsbad—Singular Illumination—Local Description—Springs—Geology—Life at Carlsbad—Grand Duke Michael—Departures—Second Season—Poles—Comparative State of the Poles in Prussia, Austria, and Russia—Polish War—Exiles in Siberia—Prince Louis of Rohan—Circumstances of the Death of the Duke de Bourbon . . . p. 36

### CHAPTER III.

Bohemia—Climate, Soil, Geology—Travelling—Appearance and Condition of the People—Eger—Baths of Franzenbad—Marienbad, Situation, Waters, Mud and Gas Baths, Society—Journey to Prague—Description of the City—Palaces, Churches, Libraries—Ancient noble Families—Population, Institutions, Commerce, and improving Condition—Procession to supplicate Rain—Language of Bohemia—Remarks on the Austrian Policy towards Bohemia . . . . . p. 77

### CHAPTER IV.

Visit to the exiled Royal Family of France—Duke de Bordeaux—Duchess d'Angoulême—Charles X.—Carlists and Henriquists—Education and prospects of the Duke de Bordeaux . . p. 113

## CHAPTER V.

Leave Prague—Further observations on Bohemia—Enter Upper Austria—Linz—Salzburg—Appearance of the Country—Description of the City, and State of its Inhabitants—Journey to Gastein—Salt-works of Hallein—Falls of Golling—Pass of Lueg—Gastein—Grand Scenery—Vales of the Alps—Elevated plain of Naasfeld—Vale of Bückstein—Gold Mines and Works—Population and Condition, past and present—Geological observations on the Valley of the Salzach . . . Page 129

## CHAPTER VI.

The Salzkammergut—Ischel—Population, its Number and Condition—Lake of Gmunden—Falls of the Traun—Sir H. Davy—Enter Upper Styria—Aussee and its Environs—Admont, its Monastery, Library, and Botanical Collections—Observations on the History and Character of the Benedictine Order; their Rules, Observances, and Present Condition—Leave Admont—Vale of the Enns—Eisenerz—Vordenberg—Bruck—Journey to Mariazell—Imperial Iron-works—Observations on the Austrian Foundries—The great Employment of Manual Labour—The Effects to be expected from an Increase of Machinery—State of Roads and Communications . . . . . p. 163

## CHAPTER VII.

Mariazell—Locality and Population—History of the Shrine—The Church and Treasures—Ecclesiastical Establishment—Number and Conduct of the Pilgrims—Arrival of one Company—General Character of the Devotional Service—Leave Mariazell—Annaberg, Durnitz, Lilienfeld—Condition of the People of Upper Styria and Upper Austria—Farms, Products, Rural Industry—Peculiar Habits and Tendencies—General Character—Monastery of MÖlk—Its Situation, Establishment, and approaching Festivities—Ineffectual attempts to follow the course of the Danube—Great Market at St. Polten—Arrive at Vienna . . . . . p. 189

## CHAPTER VIII.

Vienna—Extent—Population—City and Suburbs—Climate— Resources—Character of the People—Society—Feudal Cere- monials—Hungarian and German Guard—Presence of the highest Authority at Fires—Habits of the Emperor—Public Library—Early Printed Works—Manuscripts—Tabulæ Pen- tingerianæ—Imperial Museums, Cabinets, and Collections— Gallery of Ambras—Private Collections—Imperial and Private Galleries of Paintings—Imperial Treasure—Regalia of Charle- magne—Crowns of Bohemia, Hungary, &c.—Theseium and Group of Canova—Imperial Vault—The Emperor Nicholas at Vienna . . . . .	Page 212
--	----------

## CHAPTER IX.

Journey from Vienna to Grätz—Baden—Wienerisch Neustadt— Military Academy, and Observations on Education—Cistercian Monastery—Cathedral, and Monument of Zrini and Frangi- pani—Neustadt Canal—Schottwein—German Posting—Brück —Feistritz—Mines—Arrival at Grätz . . . . .	p. 247
---	--------

## CHAPTER X.

Grätz—Town—Population—Resources—Climate—Johanneum —The Archduke John—Residence at Grätz—Productions of Styria—Mines—German Industry—Departure from Grätz— Marburg—Laybach—Character of the People—Illyrian Pro- vinces . . . . .	p. 263
--	--------

## CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Laybach—Idria—Locality—Quicksilver Mine— Method of working it—Extraction of the native Metal and of Cinnabar—Miners and other Workmen—Unhealthy Character of the Labour—Hours of Work—Pay, Superannuations, &c.— Adelsberg—Subterranean Passages and Rivers—Caverns of St. Catherine and of the Magdalena—Proteus Anguinus—Bear Hunt—Peasantry of Carniola—Journey to Trieste—Change of Climate and Scenery—Arrival at Trieste . . . . .	p. 283
--	--------

## CHAPTER XII.

From Trieste to Fiume—Description of Fiume—Situation—Anchorage—Commerce—Difficulties to the Extension of its Trade—Environs—Buccari—Town, Harbour, and Commerce—Porto Re—Harbour—Marianna Steamer—Hospital at the Entrance of the Port—Contraband Trade carried on from Fiume . . . . . Page 314

## CHAPTER XIII.

Istria—Departure from Fiume—Enter the Istrian Peninsula, crossing the Monte Maggiore—The Bora—Encounter with Douaniers—Pisino—Dignano—Pola—Government and Police of the Istrian Towns—Antiquities of Pola—Amphitheatre, Temples, and Porta Aurea—Depopulation—Climate—Port of Pola, and Forts erecting for its military defence—Austrian Sailors—Return to Pisino—Portole—Difficulty about Horses—Capo d'Istria—Town and Commerce—General Description of Istria—Agriculture, Climate, Products, Habits and Condition of the People . . . . . p. 331

## CHAPTER XIV.

Trieste—Town—Port—Mole—Anchorage—Freedom of Trade—Lazarets—Quarantines in the Mediterranean—Conduct of Austria in regard to the Cholera—History and Description of Trieste—Population—Various Religious Congregations—Military Defences formed on the French Occupation of Ancona—Poles confined in the Castle—Remarks on the Republic of Cracow—Steam Navigation from Trieste—Coal in Dalmatia—Internal Government and Police of Trieste—Departure . . . . . p. 361

## APPENDIX.

Some Account of the Saxon Mines, and of the Process of Amalgamation adopted at Freyberg . . . . . p. 383

## CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

---

### CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLE OF THE GOVERNMENT.—Divisions of the Empire—Population, according to Numbers and Classes—Nature and Privileges of Nobility—Feudality—Its extent previous to 1773, and since—Urbarium—its establishment, provisions, and political effects . . . . . Page 1

### CHAPTER II.

LAWS OF PROPERTY.—Their effect on the formation of Social Character—General Principles—Rules of Inheritance—Of Legitimate, Legitimated, Adopted, and Illegitimate Children—Pflichttheil, or portion of necessary Succession—Power of Testamentary Bequest, and of Disinheritance—Harmony of the Rules of Inheritance with the Principle of the Government—Entails—Their different kinds and restrictions . . . p. 23

### CHAPTER III.

Tenures of Land—*Northern* Provinces—Nature of Feudal Tenures and Services—Power and Burthens of the Lords—Protecting Policy of the Crown—Farms and Villages—General Observations—*Southern* Provinces—Abatement of Feudality—Tenants and Lessees—Charters and Government of Municipal Towns and Cities—Provision for the Poor, the Aged, and the Sick—Actual Condition of the People . . . . . p. 38

## CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.—History of the Ecclesiastical System—Different recognised Forms of Faith—Supremacy of the Crown over all equally, including the Roman Catholic—General Toleration—Reforms of Joseph II.—Suppression and Regulation of Monasteries, and Visit of the Pope to Vienna—Number of Clergy of all Denominations— <i>Roman Catholic Establishments</i> —Supremacy of the Civil Power—Jus Placeti—Episcopal Nominations—Scheme of Ecclesiastical Government—Diocesan Consistories and Functionaries—Parochial Benefices—Shrines of Pilgrimage—Episcopal Seminaries—Duties of the Clergy—Ecclesiastical Revenues—Tithes—Monastic Orders—Regulations for their Government—Compulsion to active Duties—Subordination to the Secular Powers—Laws and Conditions affecting them—Religious Fund— <i>Non-Romish Subjects</i> —Laws for separate Sects—System of Church Government for all—Parochial Ministers, Seniors, Superintendents, and Consistories—Hebrew Synagogues and Greek Bishops—Singular Imperial Edicts—Concluding Remarks . . . . .	Page 73
---	---------

## CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION.—Observations on the Education of Southern Europe, of France, and of non-Austrian Germany—Austrian System of Education—Its Objects, Principles, and absolute Uniformity under every circumstance—Regular Gradation of Schools, and of scholastic Superintendence—Regulations regarding non-Romanists—Nature of the Instruction—Popular Schools; their System and Government—Gymnasial Schools and Universities—Expenses of the Educational System—Distinct Institutions—Private Tutors and Private Academies—Ordinances of Francis II.—Number of Persons receiving Education—Inducements to Education—Nature and Effects of the “Poor Student” System in Germany—Its Disfavour in Austria—Contrast between the Austrian and other German Universities—Effects of Austrian Education on the intellectual and moral Character . . . . .	p. 116
---	--------



## CHAPTER VI.

CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.—State of Criminal Law a general Evidence of social Character—Austrian Code—Its mild Genius—Crimes, their Classification and Punishment—Misdemeanors, ditto—Constitution and Gradation of Tribunals—Nature of Proceedings, Appeals, and Supervisions—Rules of Evidence, and Privilege of Relations—Strandrecht, or Martial Law—Power given to Heads of Families—Moral Discipline—Indulgent Genius of the System, and its great Peculiarities—Quantum of Crime in different Provinces, and Remarks thereon—Concluding Observations on the whole subject . . . Page 157

## CHAPTER VII.

MORALS.—Liability to Error in estimating National Morality—*Excellencies* of the Austrian Moral Character—Whence produced—Early Training—Absence of certain Excitements to Vice—Nature of the Civil Government—*Defects* of the Austrian Moral Character—Tendency to personal Indulgences—Tables of Illegitimate Births in Cities and Provinces, with Remarks—Effects of certain Impediments to Marriage, and of certain Provisions of Law—Institutions of Maternity and Orphan Asylums: their Organisation and Effects—Observance of Parental and Filial Duties, with Remarks on the Laws of Inheritance—Observance of the Conjugal Duties, and Remarks on the Laws of Marriage—Facility of Divorce among the Protestants, and its Effects—Concluding Observations . . . p. 192

## CHAPTER VIII.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—Preliminary Observations—*Legislation*—Provincial Assemblies; their Composition and Functions in the German and Italian States: also of the Hungarian Diet. Legislative Edicts and Rescripts of the Sovereign—*Executive* Government. Nature and System of the principal Departments at Vienna—Civil Administrations in the Provinces—Graduated Organization of the System—*Moral Peculiarities*—Union of Education, Affections, and Interests in support of the State, explained—Personal Character of the Princes and of the De-

positaries of Power—Number of Civil Servants and of Pensioners — German Bureaucracy — Preparation of Statistical Tables . . . . .	Page 215
---	----------

## CHAPTER IX.

PUBLIC POLICE.—Its Organization—Expense, excellent Conduct, Unobtrusiveness, and Efficiency—Rules as to Foreigners at the Frontier and in the Interior—SECRET POLICE.—Misconceptions generally entertained—POLICE OF THE PRESS.—General Principles—Censure on Native and Foreign Literature, and its Effects—Great indulgence as to Foreign Books and Journals —Difficulty experienced by Natives in obtaining permission to Travel . . . . .	p. 251
---	--------

## CHAPTER X.

ARMY.—Various Character of its component Parts—Divisions of the Empire for Military Purposes—Rules for Levies in each, and Duration of Service—Numerical Strength—Military Code —Organization of a Regiment as to Officers, and Details of Regimental Service—Record of Conduct—Purchase of Commissions—Duties of Captain—General Character of Officers—Privates — Structure of Courts-martial — Punishments — Pay and Allowances — Comparison of Infantry and Cavalry — Rules as to Marriage—Pensions—Hospitals and Asylums—Reserve of Equipments in Store—Despatch of Levies—Military Force in 1814.—NAVY.—Its Character and Extent—Port of Pola . . . . .	p. 274
--	--------

## CHAPTER XI.

FINANCES.—Public Debt and Currency—Origin and Character of the Debt—History of the Paper Currency—Finance Patent of 1811—Financial Reform of 1816—Bank of Vienna—Plan for Reduction of the floating Paper, and its success—Debt bearing Interest—Old and New Debt—Amount of both—Sinking Fund—Amount of actual liability of the Government—Existing Currency both Paper and Metallic—Circulation of the Bank, and its connexion with the Government . . . . .	p. 307
---	--------

## CHAPTER XII.

FINANCES continued—Actual Income and Expenditure—Details of both—Various Branches of Income—*Direct Taxes*—Land-tax—Its History—Cadaster—House-tax—Tax on Trades and Professions—Personal Tax—Tax on Inheritances, &c.—Mode of Collection—*Indirect Taxes*—Tax on Consumable Articles—Customs—Observations on Contraband—Other Items of indirect Taxation . . . . . Page 323

## CHAPTER XIII.

FINANCES concluded — *Monopolies* — Gunpowder — Tobacco — Salt — *Domains* — *Mines* — Tables of Gold and Silver produced — Extraction of Gold at Bückstein, Mehadia, &c. — Quantity of Gold produced now and at former Periods — Expenses of Production, and Accounts of the Mining Department — Table of all Metals produced in the Empire — *Revenues of Hungary*, and Observations thereon . . . . . p. 345

## CHAPTER XIV.

INTERNAL AND FOREIGN TRADE.—Natural Resources of Austria—Value of Exports and Imports, with Observations—Products and Trade of Hungary, &c.—Chief Articles of Export—Wool—Tobacco—Silk—Obstacles to Foreign Trade—Fluctuation of Duties, and Financial Errors—Defensive System adopted by Neighbouring States—Physical Difficulties of Internal Communication—Geographical Notices—Rivers—Projected Railroads—Uncommercial Character of the Hungarians—Steam Navigation of the Danube . . . p. 360

## CHAPTER XV.

INTERNAL POLICY.—Austria considered with reference to her *Internal Condition*—Progress of the Crown in establishing the Monarchical Principle—Its Policy in sustaining that Principle, and rendering it Popular—Opposite Conduct of Austria and France, in the reduction of Feudality—Points of *Difficulty* with which the Government has to contend—Necessity of Vigilance in the Correction of Abuses while the Press is controlled—

Point of *Weakness* in the Body of the Empire—Diversities of Nationality—Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia—Their Political Condition—Hungary: its Constitution and Social State—The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom—The Character of its Government—Its Condition and Prospects . . . . Page 384

## CHAPTER XVI.

FOREIGN POLICY.—Austria considered with reference to her *Foreign Relations*—Her great desire for Peace—Austrian Policy towards *Italy*—Conflicts with France for Ascendancy in the smaller States—Military Occupation of Countries threatened with Popular Revolution—Austrian Policy towards *Germany*—Formation and present State of the Germanic Confederation—Difficulties experienced by the Congress of Vienna—Its Views for a different Organization of Germany—The Preservation of the Kingdom of Saxony by its sudden Dissolution—Rivalship of Prussia and Austria—Prussian Custom-House Confederation—Austrian Policy towards *Russia and Turkey*—History of the establishment of Russian Ascendancy in the Northern Provinces of Turkey, and at the Mouth of the Danube—Political Condition of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Servia—Anxiety of Austria—Her endeavours to oppose Russia by her Diplomacy at Constantinople and Athens—The Conduct of England, and Apprehension of Austria as to the Maritime Powers—Reflections on the Dangers with which England is threatened by a further advance of Russia towards the Mediterranean—And on the Policy by which those Dangers may be averted . . . . p. 407

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CHAPTER I.

Leave Dresden—Saxon Switzerland—Bastey—Schandau—Pröbischer Thor—Elbe—Enter Bohemia—Contrast of Appearance—Arbesau—Battle of Culm—Teplitz—Baths—Environs—Mode of Life—King of Prussia—Von Humboldt.

ACCOMPANIED by my brother \*, I made, during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, an extensive tour in various countries of Europe. We visited together the principal cities and universities of Germany; passed one winter in Hungary; and having quitted, for a time, the Austrian States, in order to make a journey through Greece and parts of Turkey, we returned to them again by the steam-navigation from the Black Sea up the Danube as far as Vukovar, in Slavonia, whence we traversed the most interesting portion of that little-known but very remarkable district termed the Austrian Military Frontier. Of the personal narrative connected with this tour, such extracts only are now submitted to the public as relate to the *German* provinces of the Austrian em-

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pire. As the more important part of this work will be devoted to the delineation of the government in its various branches, and its effects on the condition of the people within these provinces, it appears desirable first to state briefly the results of such local and personal observations as may occur to the traveller in passing through them.

After admiring at Berlin the splendid public monuments, the galleries and museums and institutions for the advancement of art and science, their excellent order, their entire publicity, and the genius of classic taste and feeling which appears to pervade that Athens of the north—we passed some time at Dresden, amid treasures of art far superior in intrinsic excellence to those of the Prussian capital, but so secluded from general view as to be valueless to the native public; and so defective in arrangement, so neglected in condition, as almost to excite pain instead of pleasure. It was from Saxony that, on this occasion, we passed into the Austrian States. In quitting Dresden for the Bohemian frontier, we deviated from the direct road in order to explore that remarkable tract of country, which, extending to the south of that city for about seventy English miles along the banks of the Elbe, and terminating within the confines of Bohemia, has acquired the appellation of the “Saxon Switzerland.” The designation is by no means happy. It conveys an idea of grandeur and sublimity utterly at variance with the real cha-



racter of the scenery. The Saxon Switzerland charms rather by the minuteness than the magnitude of the objects it presents. Here are none of the older rocks ; no mountain-heights rising more than eighteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean, or fifteen hundred above that of the Elbe. It is an assemblage of scenic forms the most strange and fantastic, varying at every step, and of such comparatively small dimensions as to be ever within the reach of easy contemplation. The stranger passing from Chamouni to Schandau might imagine he had quitted the region of the giants for that of the fairies ; and he might experience a peculiar species of enjoyment in surveying, as it were on a beautiful model, all those disruptions and contortions of mountain scenery, which the human eye may seek in vain to trace amid the stupendous masses of the Alps.

The surface of the Saxon Switzerland is, with the exception of the basalt which caps the hill called the Greater Winterberg, and of a little syenite and granite which crop here and there, wholly of new green sandstone. Its stratification is everywhere horizontal ; and where its sides are exposed, as along the cliffs which bound the rivers and the valleys, the rock is seen to be so split perpendicularly into separate and detached piles, as to give it the appearance in form, though not in colour, of an assemblage of upright basaltic columns. As earthquakes have occurred, connected with the protrusion of the volcanic and granitic matter or otherwise, the structure of the

rock has caused its fractures to assume a character different from that which is observed amid the disturbances of the older and harder formations, and which is very favourable to picturesque effect. Chasms, too narrow to receive the name of valleys, wind along for miles between walls of rock several hundred feet in height ; sometimes quite perpendicular ; sometimes very slightly inclined and thickly covered with wood. High thin perpendicular masses shoot up their heads from the depth below, quite detached from each other, yet so near as to admit of bridges and galleries being thrown across, which seem to hang almost self-supported in the dizzy height. The narrow chasms are divided from each other by intervening ridges more narrow than themselves. Often does the traveller walk, as it were, on a pier of stone, or the high thin summit of a wall, probably not fifty, sometimes not twenty, feet in width ; shrinking, on either side, from the glance into the deep perpendicular abyss ; until he reach at length some small bluff promontory at the end, which overhangs the confluence of the vales below.

The small town of Schandau is situated on the Elbe, nearly in the centre of this singular district, which may extend eight or nine miles above and below it. Intending to see the principal points of view which are noted for their beauty, and all of which may be seen in two or three days, we had the opportunity of viewing some portion of them in our way from Dresden to Schandau, where we fixed our

temporary abode. It is at the romantic village of Lohmen, about ten English miles to the south of Dresden, that the "Switzerland" commences. After a short repose here, in the rose-garden of the little country inn, rendered more agreeable by the melodies of two female harpers seated within a bower, we proceeded about three miles farther, until at a particular point we left the carriage, to proceed on foot, with a guide, by the valley of Otterwalde, to the "Bastey," while the carriage was to proceed by the ordinary road. The valley of Otterwalde is one of those remarkable chasms with which this country abounds. We descended into it by a long steep flight of steps rudely cut in the stone, and followed its course for probably a couple of miles. Often did we find it not more than forty feet in width, and bounded by sides of wall from one to three hundred feet high, generally almost perpendicular. The surface of these walls of stone was rugged and broken, presenting, as I before observed, the appearance of fractured columns; and it was curious to observe, in what might appear the fractures of these columns—and which were, in fact, interstices of the horizontal strata—trees of the fir tribe growing out, for some short distance, horizontally from the rock, and thence bending, at a right angle, to shoot their lofty stems perpendicularly upwards. The ground below was strewn with masses of stone which had fallen from the cliffs; and sometimes in this deep glen might be seen a fragment of rock shaped almost like an in-

verted pyramid, which every breeze might seem to shake, and which yet the audacity of man, propping up the top-heavy projection with some rude masonry, had converted into a human dwelling. We had descended into the valley of Otterwalde by flights of steps cut in the rock; we left it by a natural ascent, and still continued to climb until we reached the high elevation on which stands the "Bastey." Here is an inn, built on a singular and pleasing spot, from which the eye looks down upon the Elbe immediately below, from a perpendicular height of more than six hundred feet. All around, the fractured rock forms groups of points and narrow causeways, often connected together by wooden galleries and staircases and bridges; and among these, one is pointed out as having been the stronghold of a noted band of robbers of the Elbe, accessible only to themselves by means of moveable ladders, and from which they were ultimately dislodged in the year 1443, by the starvation resulting from a rigorous blockade. Other points of interest we visited from Schandau:—Hochstein, with its narrow ledge of rock standing up five hundred feet above a vale of corn-fields—the Kuhstall, a natural arch on a projecting rock, high overlooking a fertile plain—the Lesser Winterberg and the Greater Winterberg, the two highest mountains of the district, on the summit of the latter whereof we found an inn and good refreshment, and had a fine view of the Riesengebirge, in Silesia, about one hundred English miles distant, where the Elbe has

its source. Some rather interesting geological phenomena exist in the vicinity, among which granite is seen superimposed on recent secondary rocks, and in some parts seeming to alternate with them.

It was in a walk from the summit of the Greater Winterberg, that in this tour we first entered the Austrian States. Our object was the *Pröbischer Thor*—one of the remarkable sights of the “Saxon Switzerland,” but which is in reality on the Bohemian soil. Proceeding from the summit of the hill for some distance, along a range of elevated ground chiefly covered with trees, we arrived at a road crossing our path at right angles in the midst of a dense forest. This road forms the boundary-line: we passed it, and were in Bohemia. On a jutting stone by the way-side sat two wandering minstrels,—the one with a harp, the other with a flute: they used neither—but with rich sweet voices they greeted in beautiful melody our arrival in their native land.

After a further walk of about an English mile, we emerged from the forest, and found ourselves on a lofty terrace of rock. It soon assumed the form of a bold projecting pier, not more in many parts than ten to twelve feet wide; and as we paced along this air-hung causeway, we might gaze down from either side on a perpendicular depth of at least eight hundred feet. It terminates abruptly; and, returning from its extremity, we wound down some flights of steps, partly cut in the rock and partly formed of wood-work, and, traversing galleries natural and artificial,

we reached, as it were, a lower stratum of terrace, whereon stands that grand natural arch which bears the name of the *Pröbischer Thor*. It is eighty feet in span, and a hundred and twenty in height; and is directly under, and partly supports, the causeway we had traversed above. It were vain to attempt a description of the splendid spectacle which is here enjoyed. The view is indeed similar, and perhaps even somewhat more extensive, from the grand bluff termination of the pier above; but there is a sense, not of danger indeed,—for the defences against accident are perfect,—but of awe, connected with the almost insulated position of that high projecting point, which distracts the mind from easy contemplation. Seated beside the *Pröbischer Thor*, the stranger may tranquilly survey the rich plain expanded at his feet, covered with woods and towns and corn-fields, and bounded by lofty mountains; while more immediately around him the rock is everywhere broken and rugged, and split into a thousand fragments, with their usual accompaniments of terraces and galleries, and flights of steps and hanging bridges. By means of these connecting links, every insulated point of this wild fantastic scenery may be reached with ease, and enjoyed in safety: danger is everywhere averted by rails and other defences; and the vigilance of the local administration, by which these works were constructed, is ever exerted to keep them in repair. They are the property of the Prince de Clary, the lord of a

vast domain, at the extremity of which this romantic spot is situated; and, in that spirit which generally pervades the Austrian government, either imperial or feudal, he has rendered it a place of great holiday resort for the inhabitants of the country below. Here, resting against the abutment of the lofty arch, we found a rustic inn, built in a style admirably harmonizing with the scene around; covered with moss and adorned with luxuriant shrubberies. Although every consumable article, even water for culinary purposes, is conveyed hither chiefly on the shoulders of men from a great depth below, we found good wine, coffee, meat, and other requisites; and here some few beds are kept, for the accommodation of those who may be inclined to prolong their stay. The sky was without a cloud on the day of our visit to the Pröbischer Thor; the sun was warm and genial; and the clear pure air seemed redolent of joyousness, as it wafted to us the soft music of the minstrel band within the rustic inn. They consisted of a violinist, of a youth who played well on the flute, and of two female harpers, one of whom accompanied the instrument with her voice. The Bohemians are passionately fond of music; and here, in this secluded spot, the minstrels we had heard take their station in early spring, and remain until the approach of winter terminates the labours and the pleasures of their office.

We descended from the Pröbischer Thor, on the Bohemian side, for about three hundred feet,

through a sort of crack or fissure in the rock, chiefly by long flights of steps cut into the stone. The fissure then opens into a somewhat broader but still rapidly descending vale; and the pathway, which might now be accessible to mules and ponies, wound beautifully along, first among trees alone, but afterwards accompanied by numerous streams which gush forth from the rock on the way-side, and at length unite their waters into a rivulet sufficient to turn several saw-mills. In one place the ground was covered with timber, blown down in the preceding winter by a hurricane which had levelled three thousand trees in this vale alone. We held on our course, always descending between rocks, often perpendicular, but generally clothed with trees chiefly of the fir tribe, until at length the valley opened on the Elbe. At this point stands the small romantic town of Herrnkretschén, containing about five hundred inhabitants, of whom the greater part reside in detached cottages, surrounded with little shrubberies, partly dispersed in the valley, and partly fronting the Elbe. The town, the vale, and all the district around, is the property of the Prince of Clary, who is lord also of Teplitz; and here at Herrnkretschén he has recently constructed a large and apparently commodious hotel on the banks of the river, where he and his Princess usually reside for some weeks in the course of the summer, when on their visits to this portion of his domain. Were the vale of Herrnkretschén in a more wealthy and peopled country, and



were approach obtained to it for carriages, it would be studded with villas—but here it stands in lonely beauty. The only access to it is on the Elbe, or by that long deep flight of steps which we had descended; and its only inhabitants are foresters and sawyers, a few cultivators, and the agents of the Prince.

We embarked on the Elbe, by a boat which we had ordered up from Schandau; and, descending the stream, we reached that place in about three-quarters of an hour, just when the day was closing. The river flows here majestically along, between lofty hills of sandstone covered with thick wood, save in those parts, here and there, where it has been felled to afford access to the quarrier. The stone extracted from these hills is carried downwards for building purposes in the various towns along the banks of the river. The houses of Hamburg are principally constructed of it, and it is not unfrequently carried to Berlin. The quarries extend to Pirna, which place gives the designation by which the stone (Pirna stone) is generally distinguished; and, as far as they are in the Saxon territory, they belong entirely to the crown. As we floated along, our boat was accompanied by large flocks of geese swimming down the stream, each in a detached group, and landing successively at the hamlet or the cottage to which they belonged, as the evening closed in. They are kept for the sake of their feathers, which are plucked from them generally every ten weeks

during two-thirds of the year, and at a rather longer interval during the severer season: when thus reduced to nakedness, they are kept at home for the first few days, perhaps longer if the weather be cold, and are then sent forth to acquire a new clothing, of which they are soon to be again divested.

Such was our first excursion into the territory of Austria. It was one of great and unmixed enjoyment. It was disturbed by no queries or notices of any police or fiscal officers. In the little inn at the Pröbischer Thor we saw two or three douaniers, in their uniforms of green, stationed to prevent smuggling across the frontier: but they noticed us not, save by a silent salutation. Pleasing as is the general scenery of the Saxon Switzerland, and fantastically curious as is that of the Bastey in particular, we found it vastly surpassed at the Pröbischer Thor; and, had circumstances so permitted, willingly would we there have lingered a much longer time. Schandau, to which we now returned, the capital of the Saxon Switzerland, is a small neat town of about a thousand inhabitants, finely situated on the bank of the Elbe, at the conjunction of two very narrow valleys, separated, as is here so usual, by an almost equally narrow ridge of high hill overhanging the town, and thickly covered with wood. About a quarter of a mile from the river, up one of these valleys, which is here not more than a hundred feet in width from hill to hill, stands, on the brink of a

small rapid stream, the *Bath House*, with its chalybeate spring and baths. It is a very comfortable hotel, much frequented in the fine season by families and persons from Dresden and elsewhere, with whom Schandau is, for a few weeks, a favourite watering-place; and we found it ourselves very clean and very comfortable. It is only, however, in the midst of summer that the place can be properly enjoyed: for, in these deep narrow valleys, the air is always damp and chill as soon as the sun declines.

Leaving Schandau, we crossed the Elbe with the carriage in a large flat boat, and proceeded to Pirna, on the high road from Dresden to Teplitz. Our course lay for some time near the bank of the Elbe, below a range of high wooded hills which we were afterwards obliged to traverse. Aided by a reinforcement of oxen, we toiled heavily up the steep ascent, passing under the walls of Königstein, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, erected on an insulated rock eleven hundred feet in height. We were four hours in reaching Pirna, distant from Schandau only twelve English miles. In our next stage we crossed the Bohemian frontier, which has here only a stone to mark the limit; and arrived at the long straggling town of Peterswalde, the first station of Austrian inspection for passports and baggage. Here we drew up in front of the Imperial Eagle, somewhat expecting a rigorous and troublesome examination. We were happily disappointed. The passports were taken

in for the proper *visa*, and returned with a respectful bow. No questions were asked : no trouble given respecting our baggage ; and we had the satisfaction of finding our pleasurable recollections of the Pröbischer Thor not disturbed by the slightest unpleasant formality, on this our more regular entrance within the states of the emperor.

The kingdom of Bohemia is on all sides surrounded by a band of mountains. That which forms the real boundary towards Saxony is a portion of the great range termed the Erzgebirge, which, towards the west and north-west, extends into the Saxon dominions, and towards the east unites with the Riesengebirge of Silesia. We had already ascended the first part of the Erzgebirge, in reaching Peterswalde, which is situated on its northern slope ; from thence we continued rising by a long and rather steep ascent, over huge piles of gneiss with granitic and porphyritic intermixtures, until we reached the summit ; and, from the “ Capelle ” (a small chapel), enjoyed a very fine and extensive view. The east, the west, and partially the north, all exhibit, as it were, a sea of mountain-peaks. To the south are seen the groups and ranges of Bohemian hills, one of the principal of which is the ridge of the Mittelgeberge, stretching before us in a direction nearly parallel to the range on which we stood ; and, with Teplitz at their base, bounding a tract of intervening country, ever diversified with lower hills, which assume somewhat the appearance of a plain, from the elevation of the spot

from whence they are surveyed. In the distance we descried the towers of Prague, and immediately below us lay a tract of classic ground to the military traveller,—the battle-field of Culm. We descended to it from the Capelle by a road carried down the mountain-side in a series of long sweeps and shorter zigzags, and reached the little village of Arbesau, where, although one stage only distant from Teplitz, the want of horses compelled us to remain for the night.

Here it was that, on the 31st August, 1813, the allies gained one of the most critically-important successes of that most important and successful campaign. They had sustained a severe reverse at Dresden, and endeavoured to retreat in detached bodies through the mountain-defiles into Bohemia. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, had taken their station at Teplitz, when General Vandamme, by a bold and masterly movement, pushed a corps of forty thousand men through the defiles of the Erzgebirge, having crossed the Elbe near Königstein, with the view of cutting off the retreat of the numerous bodies of the allies which were separated among the mountains, and of, perhaps, attempting to gain possession of Prague. He reached the plain of Culm, within twelve English miles of Teplitz, where, however, the allied forces were brought together in sufficient numbers to arrest his progress. An engagement ensued, which, with very severe loss on both sides, lasted during the

whole of the 30th, and in which it is probable that the allies would have been further driven back, but for a very decided and energetic measure adopted by the King of Prussia, who alone of the Sovereigns remained on the field, and who turned the Prussian arms on a body of retreating Cossacks, whom he thus compelled to stand. On the 31st the action was renewed, and continued with doubtful success, until the Prussian General Kleist, with a considerable corps of fresh troops, which had been, like many of their comrades, entangled in the defiles of the Saxon Switzerland, was seen emerging from a mountain-pass, and winding down to the field. His most opportune arrival decided the fate of the day. The enemy, surprised in their rear, were hemmed in on every side. Some few escaped to the mountains, and rejoined their comrades near Dresden; but the great majority of them either perished on the spot or surrendered to the victors. Vandamme himself, and six other general officers, were made prisoners; and with them were taken all the military baggage and effects, and sixty pieces of cannon. Close beside the village of Arbesau stands an obelisk of cast-iron, in excellent taste, about sixty feet high, supported on the body of a lion, and surmounted by a beautiful figure of Fame. It was erected by the Austrian officers engaged on that great day to the memory of their commander, the Count Colloredo Mansfeld; who then received wounds which could never afterwards be closed, and which, after ten years of suffering and

pain, terminated his life in 1823. Not far distant from the obelisk, stands a smaller, but elegant gothic-formed monument, erected at an earlier period by the King of Prussia, to the memory of the heroes generally who fell in the common cause. A gallant veteran, who had borne his part in the conflict, accompanied us to it, and fought all the battle o'er again, as he described its various events, and pointed out the most interesting localities. Seventeen days after the defeat of Vandamme, another engagement took place, nearly on the same ground, between Prince Schwarzenberg and Napoleon in person, who himself marched upon Teplitz after his victory at Dresden. The battle was fought on the 17th September, upon the heights immediately above Culm; and its results compelled the enemy to abandon their position, and retreat upon Leipsig, where they sustained their final and fatal disaster.

It was already about sunset when we reached Arbesau. The Prince Maximilian of Saxony had passed on to Teplitz with a large retinue an hour or two before, and the King of Prussia was expected to go through in the course of the night. All the horses were either actually out, or engaged, and we were compelled to take up our quarters at a small village inn, which had not altogether the most promising appearance. We found in it, however, all that was absolutely wanted; supplied certainly with little elegance, but with the most cheerful, good-natured alacrity; and on settling

the account before our departure, we had a somewhat amusing specimen of that simple honesty of character, which in our larger and more extensive intercourse with the Austrian people we ever afterwards observed. The bill presented on our demand contained a set of charges which appeared rather high for the entertainment we had received. It was, however, our first pecuniary transaction in Bohemia, a country of which we had little knowledge; and we paid the amount in a certain number of silver pieces, the greater portion of which, however, our female attendant persisted in returning. Attempts at explanation were not satisfactory; for the Bohemian dialect of German was at that time new to us, and the adjustment was rendered the more difficult by the people of the inn and ourselves being utterly at cross purposes. We agreed with them as to the number of florins to be paid; but on our urging the payment, the larger part of it was absolutely refused. At length the patience of our damsel appeared to be exhausted, and she vanished with the pieces, leaving us in astonishment at her long-continued demur, but satisfied that the affair was now concluded. But no—soon she returned;—replaced on the table the pieces in dispute, and again departed. It was in vain that we sought explanation from the landlord; we could only understand from him that all was right, and it was not until we reached Teplitz that the mystery was unfolded. The charge had been made in paper florins, worth ten pence each; and we



had urged the payment in metallic florins, worth two shillings!—Before quitting Arbesau we walked over the memorable ground around us, which, broken by hills and ravines and woods, in endless irregularity, forms a striking contrast with the broad open battle-fields of Northern Germany or Flanders; and then resuming our course, we reached Teplitz, about nine English miles distant, in about an hour and a quarter.

Considerable points of contrast present themselves to the traveller who enters Bohemia from Saxony. We are here in a Roman Catholic country. Madonnas and Saints meet the eye along the roadside; and frequent are the salutations of the passing peasant to some gaudily painted figure of our Lord, suspended on the decorated cross. In the mountain regions, where the sterile soil yields scarcely any return for the industry of man, beggars are seen, asking, often on their knees, an alms, for which they express their gratitude by kissing the hand that bestows it. The dress is different from what we have witnessed before, and so is the language. The men have high leather boots reaching up to the knee, and often broad-brimmed black hats, wholly or partially cocked. The women have cotton handkerchiefs tied tight over their heads, covering the whole of the hair, and depending at the ears, much in the manner of those which are seen in the female statues of ancient Egypt. The German language, as spoken by the lower classes, we had before observed to vary in various parts of Germany. In Brandenburg and Saxony we had

heard the guttural *ch*, as in *ich* and *mich*, pronounced as *ish* and *mish*, and *yude* said for *gute*. In Bohemia, and as we found often afterwards in Austria, one peculiarity is the somewhat close pronunciation of the vowels; and it was some time before our ears were accustomed to *yo* for *ja*, and *wogen* for *wagen*. The money is a source at first of great confusion. There are in Austria two distinct denominations of currency: the Convention-money, or Münz; and the old paper-money, or Scheingeld, called also Papiergeld. In each of these the florin exists with its divisions into 60 Kreutzers, but the Convention florin being of metallic standard, is worth two shillings English, while the scheingeld florin, being but two-fifths of the other, is worth rather less than ten pence. We found all accounts in Bohemia among the lower traders, and often among the superior ones, kept in scheingeld—even the booksellers at Teplitz could only tell us the prices of the works purchased in scheingeld. Yet as this is now almost entirely an imaginary currency, and every payment must in fact be made either in coin, or in notes of the Vienna bank, which are all in Convention münz, the difficulty of rendering the one into the other, and especially as to aliquot parts of florins, is almost insurmountable. The subject will be fully explained in the second part of this work; and I will only here observe, that in few matters of internal regulation will the Austrian Government have conferred a greater public benefit, than when they shall have completed the establish-

ment of that uniform metallic or "Convention" currency, which is already so far advanced.

The personal appearance of the people gradually improves as we proceed southward in Germany. It is better at Dresden than at Berlin,—much better at Teplitz and Carlsbad than at Dresden; and as we afterwards descended towards the Italian frontier, we found it to partake more and more of the Italian character. In Bohemia it is decidedly superior to that which prevails in Saxony. There are fewer broad, flat, sandy-looking faces,—more of expression,—clearer complexions, finer eyes, and narrower and smaller features.

It was our intention to pass some time at Carlsbad, and to take a cursory view of the other principal baths of Bohemia, Teplitz, Marienbad and Franzensbad, before proceeding to Prague. Our course first took us to Teplitz, where we remained four or five days, and thence proceeded to Carlsbad.

TEPLITZ \* is a town pleasingly situated near the edge of a vale, seven or eight English miles in width, intervening between the outlayers of the Erzgebirge on the one side, and the Mittelgebirge on the other. The former of these ranges is almost wholly of gneiss with porphyritic nodules. The latter is more diversified. Its base is still of gneiss with porphyritic inter-

\* Written also, but I believe less correctly, Töplitz. The pronunciation would in either case be the same.

mixtures; but here we find also sandstones and limestones, forming small hillocks and mounts, some of which immediately overtop the town. Among them is a good deal of brown coal, and at the distance of four or five miles are mines of tin and some other metals. The number of permanent inhabitants at Teplitz does not exceed two thousand seven hundred; while that of the strangers, who remain for a longer or shorter period, during the months of May, June, July, and August, amount in a good season to six or seven thousand. The ground on which the city stands is, like that which surrounds it, very irregular; thus causing much ascent and descent in the streets, which are of moderate width, and cleanly kept. Like all watering-places of central Germany, it abounds in lodging-houses, each of which exhibits on a board in front some distinguishing sign whereby it is known. Nature, history, and imagination, have alike been taxed to supply this strange gallery of emblems. They are adapted to every fancy and to every age. Besides lions and eagles, lambs and doves, the naturalist will find birds and beasts of every unnatural colour and form. The man of ancient wisdom may resort to the "Eastern Sages" or to the "Egyptian Joseph;" the rising generation to the "Golden ABC;" and the wanderer from the British Isles, when he gazes on the "Englische Gruss," might compliment the Bohemian taste in thus adopting as a favourite symbol the "English Kiss," did not a French translation of these ambiguous words announce their

more accredited though possibly not unsynonymous interpretation to be "La Salutation Angélique." The hotels are numerous and good; among which we found the post to be clean and comfortable. The König von Preussen and the Deutsche Haus are larger, but less in the centre of the town.

Of the mineral waters, there are in and about the town, seventeen springs, scarcely varying from each other, except in temperature; that of the highest among them being  $39\frac{1}{2}$  Reaumur, equal to  $121^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, nearly.\* The waters are very little taken internally, but used almost wholly for baths; and these baths are principally in numerous large edifices, some of which are appropriated to that object only, while others combine therewith the accommodation of lodging-houses. The principal establishment is the Steinbad; and not far from it, situated on a small open place, is the large and spacious building termed the *Herrnhaus*, three stories in height, and presenting a façade of seventeen large windows in a row, —the ground floor whereof is occupied by baths for strangers generally, on the usual payment, and the two stories above are laid out in lodging-rooms for personages of high distinction. This is the residence of the King of Prussia and the Princess of

\* It contains by analysis in 16 ounces 15·608 grains of solid matter, whereof 12·240 is carbonate of soda; 1·696 sulphate of soda; with a very little muriate of soda, carbonate of lime, and of iron silica and resin; and of carbonic acid gas, 2·400 cubic inches in 16 ounces.

Liegnitz, with their establishment, during their annual visit to Teplitz. Charles X. and his suite occupied it at several periods ; and it has likewise been, on some occasions, the temporary residence of the Emperor. Behind the house are public gardens, rather undecorated in character, wherein is the “ Garten quelle,” the only spring which is resorted to by the few persons who *drink* the waters, and where in the morning a band plays from eight till nine o'clock.

On a higher place, decorated with a handsome fountain, stands the spacious château or palace of the Prince of Clary, the lord of Teplitz. A small neat theatre is attached to it ; and spreading behind, are spacious and highly decorated gardens, which, although the private property of the prince, are, in the spirit of German aristocratical liberality, ever open to the public. I have seen few gardens more diversified and elegant than these. They abound in cool sequestered walks, amid lofty branching trees ; green knolls ; gay parterres of flowers ; and reservoirs of water fringed with willows, and tenanted by swarms of fish, which congregate near to the bank whenever a stranger appears, each with his open uplifted mouth awaiting the fragments of bread or cake which they are accustomed to receive. Few circumstances perhaps better evince the gentleness of the national character, than this kind of confiding tameness, so often witnessed in Germany, of those creatures which with us would flee from the approach of

man; and that, too, as at Teplitz, where access is free to persons of every class and age, and where no guardian may be seen to watch for their protection. These gardens, in other parts diversified and sequestered, contain one very long central gravel walk, which forms the principal promenade of Teplitz. A military band plays daily on it from eleven till one o'clock, and at the entrance of this walk stands an edifice containing neat but not large apartments, occupied partly by a restaurateur, and partly used for assemblies and for reading the public papers.

For many years past, the King of Prussia, the great patron of Teplitz, has arrived here punctually on the 1st July, and remained during the whole of that month, which thus constitutes the height of the season. Like those of all the Austrian watering-places, its enjoyments are of a quiet and orderly character; and are not perhaps such as would gratify those who seek the pleasure of active excitement. Public gaming, that great magnet of vicious attraction at the baths on the Rhine, is, by the Austrian government, absolutely prohibited; and the habit of very early rising discourages evening unions for dancing or other legitimate amusements. Bathing commences at Teplitz before five in the morning; and the demand for baths is so great, that the bathers are compelled, however contrary to their feelings, to accept any vacant hour which they may be so fortunate as to obtain. Thus, from five till eight or nine in the morning, stragglers may be seen in

the streets going to and from the baths ; and a few people may assemble in and about the pump-room of the *garten-quelle* to drink the waters ; but no general meeting exists throughout the day, except from eleven till one o'clock on the great promenade of the gardens behind the palace of the Prince of Clary, where people stroll up and down, with nothing to do, and nothing to talk about except the King of Prussia. From one to two, every one dines. At the "Salon" attached to the garden, a table d'hôte is served at one ; but when we were at Teplitz it was very poorly attended. It is the usual custom for people to dine separately, either alone or in family groups, but very many in the same room, and often congregated about the same table. After dinner, every vehicle, public and private, is put in requisition for excursions of a few miles in the fine country around. The hills which border the vale abound in beautiful and romantic sites, in several of which is a house of entertainment with surrounding gardens. Some one of these it is the custom specially to visit on successive days ; and thither may be seen the stately equipage of the feudal prince, and the humble cart-like omnibus with its load of traders, following each other in long and dusty procession, and each depositing its charge to enjoy in common the rural loveliness of nature. Rude tables are laid beneath the broad dark foliage of the elm, the chestnut, and the oak : no spirits may be supplied at these places of sober recreation ; but



the neat, bright-eyed damsel supplies the portion of coffee or tea, or possibly of light thin effervescing beer, alike to the prince and to the mechanic, the *élégante* of Berlin or Vienna, and the homely wife of the honest farmer. There they sit in tranquil, unenvying enjoyment, until the shades of evening warn them to return; when the greater number repair to their homes, take a light supper, and are in bed by ten o'clock. In the evenings not a person was to be seen in the streets. There were representations often at the theatre, but these commenced at six, closed at eight; and although, as I understood, there had been in other seasons music in the gardens from eight till nine or ten, this was not the case when we were at Teplitz. On Sunday evenings a ball was regularly given at the "Salon," and now and then there might be an extra one on the evening of some other day; but even these partook of the general monotony. At the only one which occurred during our stay at Teplitz, the first indeed of the season, the King of Prussia was present, with the Princess of Liegnitz, the Princess Kinsky, and the whole *élite* of the place; yet the entire company did not consist of thirty persons, among whom were only three female waltzers, who, during an hour and a half, occasionally honoured some gentleman with a twirl round the room. At ten the king retired, and the rest of the circle immediately dispersed.

Having witnessed at Carlsbad, at Ischel, and at various places of similar resort, that absence of all formality, that happy conventional equality, which

for a while divests the sovereign prince of the burdens of etiquette, and enables or compels him to intermix with those around him, unnoticed and unnoticed, my mind reverts with surprise to the excessive and painful ceremoniousness which was stamped upon Teplitz, by the presence of the Prussian monarch. This surprise is the more increased, by that extreme simplicity of manner, that seeming aversion to ceremony in every shape, which appears to mark his conduct in his own dominions. I had seen him at Berlin and at Potsdam moving about like any undistinguished individual, either on foot or in a small low open carriage, with a single aid-de-camp or secretary, and no other attendant. I had been honoured with his commands to partake of the royal hospitalities "en frac," at times when required to attend the invitations of less exalted personages "en uniforme\*." I had found him inhabit-

\* The observances of the court of Berlin in regard to foreigners are peculiar. Among the diplomatists are no *ambassadors*; consequently no foreign agents so accredited as to be authorised in demanding personal intercourse with the sovereign. The highest diplomatic agents of foreign courts are *envoys extraordinary* and *ministers plenipotentiary*; and these functionaries, communicating only with the official ministers, are never received by the king, except, perhaps, once or twice in the course of each winter, when they are all invited to a court ball. His majesty has abundant parties, sometimes "en frac," or plain clothes, sometimes "en uniforme," or full dress; but neither at these, nor at the assemblies of any of the royal family, does a foreign minister appear; with this single exception, that when a foreign *prince* is present, the minister of his nation is invited to attend him. The names of foreigners desiring to be presented are communicated, in writing, by the minister of their

ing a comparatively small private residence at Berlin, communicating with that of the Princess Liegnitz, the elegant and accomplished lady to whom he has presented his hand, although, from the want of royal blood, she may not wear the crown,—while the magnificent suites of the royal palace were tenanted by the crown prince and other members of his family. Everywhere had I heard confirmed by others that impression of his extreme simplicity of manners and tastes, which my own very limited means of observation had occasioned me to receive: yet here at Teplitz he would seem to have created, voluntarily

country, and by his direction they leave their cards at the house of the grand-chamberlain, shortly after which the king intimates when he will receive them, by a verbal message, not to the minister, but direct to the parties themselves. Military officers are not unfrequently received at reviews. In my own case it was his majesty's pleasure to invite me to a *soirée*, at six o'clock, "*en frac*," and this was followed by an invitation for a later day, "*en uniforme*," on account of some foreign princes being of the party. Another English gentleman was also present; and in the absence of any British functionary we were presented to the king and to the princess of Liegnitz by the grand-chamberlain; and in the course of the evening by other chamberlains to the different members of the royal family. The amusements of the evening to which I am now particularly alluding, consisted of some short dramatic pieces, two in German and one in French, performed by artistes from the public theatres, in a saloon fitted up as a private theatre. An elegant supper followed, of soups, hot and cold dishes, fruits, &c., served on tables, each laid for eight, or ten, or twelve people; the table of the king and his immediate party being laid in a separate room. When the supper was over dancing commenced, and continued till two or three o'clock; the king and the principal guests having previously retired.

and superfluously, a more than courtly formality. It may be that this was temporary, and would cease ; for we had only the opportunity of seeing it during two or three days, and those the earliest after his arrival ; but on each of these the scene on the public promenade was most remarkable. On the great gravel walk the people began to assemble between eleven and twelve, loitering about in a sort of watchful anxiety for the royal approach. The instant his majesty appeared, every head was bare ; and a great circle was formed by those who hoped to be honoured with the royal notice, while the less distinguished of the company arranged themselves in the rear. The king, leaning on his stick, took his position in the centre, likewise bareheaded, either alone, or attended by the Prince de Wittgenstein, his grand-chamberlain, on whom devolved the duty of mentioning the names of those to whom it might be fitting for his majesty to address a word of courtesy. Whensoever he emerged from the living enclosure and passed up the walk, every one fell in behind and followed in his train. If he stopped to notice any person at the side, every one stopped also until he again proceeded. Sometimes he would sit down on one of the benches, with the Prince de Wittgenstein by his side, both uncovered ; and at those periods some of the promenaders did venture to pace along the walk, but an open space was still preserved before the bench of royalty, and on approach to it every hat was again removed, which might have been furtively restored

to the head in a more distant part of the gardens. An equal ceremony attended the Princess of Liegnitz, who probably appeared on the walk about the same time as the king, or very shortly after. She too had her great circle around her, of uncovered heads ; and when she took her position on a seat, accompanied by the Princess Kinsky or some other lady, a semicircular range was formed before her, occupying the space in front, and utterly preventing the passage up and down. Those who had been presented to her awaited the honour of her notice, and those who had not, enjoyed at any rate the gratification of gazing on a face and figure of the most pleasing and attractive order, although no longer glowing with the early bloom of youth. Occasionally the king and the princess were holding their great standing levées at the same time, in different parts of the walk, and presentations took place by their respective attendants, as at a drawing-room in Berlin ; and at no period during the whole of the royal visits to the gardens, which on the occasions which I witnessed them lasted from an hour to an hour and a half, was the strictness of these etiquettes in the least degree diminished. At no moment did the king replace his hat upon his head, and he ultimately left the gardens bearing it still in his hand.

Were a judgment to be formed of the agrémens of Teplitz in its gayest season, merely from the recital

I have now given, they might be deemed congenial to those only who exist in the flutter of courts. Such a judgment would however be rash, and probably unjust. After the first few days, the awful solemnities of the public promenade would be at any rate abated—for they must be more painful to the king himself than to those below him; and at all events, except in the fatal period from eleven till one, the visitor might luxuriate in those delightful gardens, their shady walks and their secluded thickets, free from all intrusion. He might read, and meditate, and enjoy the quiet scene around him, with none to cross his path save some cogitative stranger, or a group of children bearing a little store of provision for the fish in the reservoirs; or he might perambulate the fine country around in carriage or on horseback, and find at a few miles distance an endless variety of walks, among the woods which deck the declivities of the hills. The living is very good, and the Hungarian and Bohemian wines excellent and cheap. In the salon attached to the gardens may be read the Prussian State Gazette and the Leipsic and Frankfort journals; to which would doubtless be added the Galignani, and others of the Paris papers. as is the case at Carlsbad, were French and English visitors sufficiently numerous to remunerate the expense. The street-minstrelsy is excellent: everywhere are bands of harpers and violinists to be seen; and sweet voices are heard, and pleasing faces admired. The Princess of Liegnitz has soirées once

or twice a-week, where the lover of society, duly introduced, would find a union of very agreeable, and often highly-accomplished persons, always ready to converse, and with whom he would soon become intimate from ever finding himself amongst them; while the naturalist would derive, in the geological and botanical peculiarities of the country around, a never-failing supply of rational enjoyment.

Even the formalities which here surround the Prussian monarch have something of a redeeming quality, from the character of those who are its agents. He admits about him nothing that is presumptuous or impertinent: his chamberlains are philosophers, and the honorary offices of his court are bestowed on those most distinguished for their civil and military talent. He is the zealous patron of science and of art; and HUMBOLDT is his chosen counsellor. Except the Grand Chamberlain and the Minister-at-War, this great man, in whom profound and varied science is combined with the most graceful elegance, was the only attendant of the Sovereign at Teplitz; for his high talent, and habitual knowledge of courts and politics and men, render him a counsellor almost as valuable for the general affairs of the state, as for those to which the labours of his life are thought to have been especially devoted. The flourishing condition of the university and other scientific institutions; the Egyptian Museum, unrivalled in Europe; the galleries of sculpture and paintings; the beautiful copies of all the

first pictures of Raffaele ; the splendid architectural and glyphic ornaments ; and other useful and ornamental public works, which render Berlin one of the most interesting cities in Europe ;—all attest the salutary influence of Humboldt, and of men such as Humboldt, over a wise and judicious Sovereign. He is as indefatigable in business as he is profound in research. Often, at Berlin, have I been at his door before eight in the morning, but he had already gone forth to the active duties of the day ; and, after these were passed, I have seen him in the evening, with his gold key to his button-hole, performing the offices of chamberlain in the ball-room with the readiness and ease of one who had never quitted the precincts of a court. To observe this distinguished man, who has filled Europe with his philosophic fame, standing bare-headed on the walk of Teplitz, beside the seat of the Princess of Leignitz, performing the smaller offices of the courtly attendant, watching her every motion, and running with hat in hand to overtake her, if perchance she might move forward some few steps unobserved,—may excite the smile, and possibly the derision, of him who looks merely on the surface of events. The more thoughtful observer of human nature will take a very different view. He will ascribe no ordinary elevation of character to the Sovereign, who can thus appreciate the services, and thus conciliate to himself and his family the devoted attachment, of such a man. He will reverence the philosopher whose elegant accomplish-



ments add a tenfold value to his lofty acquirements, by imparting to him that influence of familiar friendship, which has thus bent towards the more refining and ennobling pursuits of civil life the taste and the energies of an absolute military monarch. He will bear in mind that, on the hallowed banks of the Cephissus, “the Loves were the associates of Wisdom; the promoters of all that is excellent in man;”\* and, while he may lament that the rays of royal favour do not always beam on science and on art, he will wish that science and art were ever so combined with an amiable and elegant gentleness of character, as in their union at once to command respect and conciliate affection.

\* Καλλιναον τ' ἐπι Κηφισου ροαῖς

Ταν Κυπριν κληζουσιν \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Τα Σοφια παρεδρους

Πεμπειν Ερωτας

Παντοιας αρετας ξυνεργους.—*Eurip. Medea.*

## CHAPTER II.

Journey to Carlsbad—Carlsbad—Singular Illumination—Local Description—Springs—Geology—Life at Carlsbad—Grand Duke Michael—Departures—Second Season—Poles—Comparative State of the Poles in Prussia, Austria, and Russia—Polish War—Exiles in Siberia—Prince Louis of Rohan—Circumstances of the Death of the Duke de Bourbon.

IN every part of the German States of Austria the traveller may secure himself from delays and detention on the road, by giving a due notice of his intention to travel at the post-office of the town from which he starts: whence, for a small remuneration, orders will be sent forward by the letter-carrier to each of the different relays, for horses to be ready on his arrival. We had reason to rejoice in having taken this precaution on quitting Teplitz, for it more than once occurred that we found carriages waiting before the post-houses, after an ineffectual attempt to obtain the cattle which were retained for us, and with which we immediately proceeded. The posting in these states generally is in every respect better than in the other countries of Germany, except partially in Prussia. The prices differ somewhat in different provinces, varying from 56 kreutzers to 68 kreutzers for each horse, but they are everywhere

fixed by ordinance ; and we never perceived any attempt at imposture ; any dissatisfaction as to baggage or weight ; or any inclination, even in the most mountainous regions to urge on the traveller an additional number of horses, except in such localities as must have convinced himself of their absolute necessity. Our carriage was a light calèche, for which two horses were almost everywhere sufficient ;—the postilion, as is universal in Germany when two horses only are taken, driving with long reins on the seat in front. Where more than two horses are harnessed, he rides as in France and England ; and the ordinance entitles him to a pay, or trinkgeld, increasing with the number of horses he has to drive. The amount of this trinkgeld, however, as set down in the post-book, is, like the fifteen sous in France, merely nominal, and not more than a moiety of that which is probably paid in fact ; but, on points such as these, local information is the only guide. In the various countries of Germany the postilions wear the distinguishing uniform which may be appointed by the respective sovereigns. In some of the smaller principalities the colour is green—in Prussia, blue—in Saxony, yellow. The Austrian driver takes his seat on the saddle or on the box, arrayed in a large scarlet jacket trimmed with silver-lace, long buck-skin pantaloons sticking tight to his legs from the hips to the ancles, a ponderous silver-laced cocked hat, (sometimes exchanged for a more commodious, though less strictly regular round one,) and the whole surmounted with a flowing military plume of dirty black

and white feathers. We found these officers of the whip always civil and attentive, if, perhaps, not often very intelligent ; and, although their cumbrous equipments would seem to augur ill for the probability of despatch, yet, where the country was tolerably level and the roads good, they generally contrived to take us along at the rate of seven or eight English miles an hour.

Such, however, was not our speed in the journey we were now taking from Teplitz to Carlsbad. The country we had to traverse was a mountain-district : the road was formed over a succession of long and often very steep hills, and was now rendered more difficult than usual by the torrents of rain which were falling ; so that, although the distance was only fourteen German, or about sixty-five English miles, we were more than fifteen hours in accomplishing it. The hills appear to be mostly composed of old red sandstone containing basins of coal, and of still more ancient rocks, which pass into granite in the neighbourhood of Carlsbad. They are high and bleak, and the face of the country generally is devoid of interest, except that here and there some pleasing valleys intervene between the mountain-masses. The towns we traversed are the property chiefly of the great feudal lords, whose châteaux and extensive parks may be not far distant, but are too remote to be discerned from the road. They, the towns, are generally dark and dirty, and have often covered arcades of brick-work running along the sides of the streets. Saatz, a place of five thousand inhabitants,

is the most important among them. Its situation is picturesque ; a part of the town being built on a ridge of high precipitous rock, at the foot of which flows the rapid Eger, adorned with a handsome suspension-bridge of iron, the earliest of the kind constructed in Bohemia.

It was already dark when we reached the heights overhanging the valley of Carlsbad : but, if from this circumstance we lost the view of the romantic scenery around us, we were richly compensated by a spectacle of rare and striking effect. The day of our arrival happened to the birth-day of the Emperor Nicholas ; and, as the Grand Duke Michael with his family and a large number of distinguished Russians were then at Carlsbad, the anniversary was celebrated by a general illumination. As we passed over the brow of the hill, and commenced descending by a series of zigzags into the deep and very narrow glen, bounded on either side by almost perpendicular hills thickly covered with wood, we first perceived the scattered lights of the little rustic tenements perched here and there upon the heights ; for even the windows of these poor dwellings exhibited some humble testimonial of sympathy with the general gaiety below. As we advanced, appeared, somewhat lower down, various devices of brilliant lamps, stationed as objects for the gazers in the town beneath ; among which the imperial crown and the arms of Russia were the most conspicuous in brilliancy, casting a wide glow of light on the thick dark foliage around it. At length we

perceived the town itself—a bright mass of light, filling the entire space between the hills. Every window was illuminated. Double and triple rows of lamps bordered the margin of the little rivulet which intersects the vale, and were continued along the railings of the several bridges which extend across it; and in addition to these objects of stationary brilliancy, was a kind of moving illumination produced by companies of men perambulating the town in military order—sometimes in single, sometimes in double file—bearing lofty lamps or torches in their hands, and thus producing vistas and avenues of light. Amid this singular blaze of brightness—one of the most effective exhibitions of the kind I ever contemplated—we entered Carlsbad; and took possession of the apartments on the Wiese, which, through the medium of our kind friend Dr. De Carro, had been already engaged for us, rejoicing at the precaution we had thus adopted, for every hotel was full.

The position of Carlsbad is very singular, whether we regard its picturesque beauty or its geological phenomena. The small river Tepel, which has its source on mount Tepel some twelve or fifteen English miles to the south of the town, flows in a northerly direction through a fissure of granite, until it mixes its waters with those of the Eger. This fissure is very deep and very winding; and in its narrowest part, where the entire breadth is often less than one hundred and thirty feet, stands the little town of Carls-

bad. On the left bank of the stream extends a row of contiguous houses for about a quarter of an English mile, having in front a narrow road, which is itself separated from the river by rows of lime-trees, and by a line of low wooden sheds, occupied by artisans during the summer season. In the rear the granite rock rises so precipitously, as to have rendered it in many parts necessary to cut it away, in order to form the foundations of the buildings. This row of houses is the "Wiese"; the ground floors occupied as shops, and the upper stories let as furnished apartments, which are considered the most eligible in the place, and are consequently the most expensive. The river, a poor shallow streamlet, the depth of whose waters is, in ordinary terms, to be computed rather by inches than by feet, is traversed by several bridges for foot-passengers only; and, below the Wiese, by one of stone, forming the only communication for carriages. On the opposite side of the river are some few lodging-houses, and others are in progress; but those hitherto built are of a comparatively humble character. Beyond the lower extremity of the Wiese, and below the stone bridge, the granite sides of the vale are fractured into what may be termed irregular lumps of rock on either side;—on one of which, on the right bank, occupying a small detached platform overlooking the stream, stands the church, and higher up behind it are a few steep rugged streets, wherein inferior lodgings may be procured by those of small pecuniary means. On the left bank the irregularities

of surface are perhaps greater; but the buildings erected on them are generally superior. In one part, just below the Wiese, is a small irregular "Place" formed by houses, few in number but very spacious; two of which were occupied by the Grand Duke Michael and his suite, and another by the Russian ambassador to the imperial court. From this place, a very steep road leads to the rude mount called the Schlossberg; about and beyond which, are avenues rather than streets, and houses, some detached, some in lines, some of the humblest kind, and others affording large and excellent accommodation for families. Many are seen perched on points of rock overhanging the vale; and others, built on narrow ledges of natural or artificial construction, form something like irregular terraces rising above the Wiese.

The mineral waters arise from different sources, whereof the most remarkable, the Sprudel, with six affiliated fountains, (as they may not be inappropriately termed,) are on the right of the bank of the river, and the others, the Muhlbrunn, the Neubrunn, the Bernhardsbrunn, the Theresienbrunn, and the Schlossbrunn, on the left. The waters of all these sources are established, by the analysis of Berzelius and others, to be absolutely identical in point of medicinal contents; but they differ somewhat considerably in temperature: of those on the *left* bank, the coolest is the Schlossbrunn, which hardly reaches 100° of Fahrenheit, and is very little frequented: the hottest is the Muhlbrunn, which exceeds 137°, and has a greater



number of daily votaries than either of the others. The Neubrunn, the Bernhardsbrunn, and the Theresienbrunn, bear a temperature between these two extremes; and all pour forth a constant and tolerably copious supply of water, which, with one exception, is conducted into excavated basins a few feet below the surface of the ground, whence the cups are filled for the visitors. But the great prodigy of Carlsbad, and one of the most remarkable phenomena with which we are acquainted, is the *Sprudel*, which rises on the *right* bank of the river, from a calcareous sinter formed by the gradual accumulation of its own deposits, at a temperature of 165°, consequently at a higher degree of heat than any natural spring in Europe, with the exception of the Geysers in Iceland. The water bursts forth in a column about four inches in diameter, which rises perpendicularly from four to five feet above the extremity of the conduit to which it is confined, but probably double that height above what may be considered the real surface of the sinter whence it springs. Its flow is not, like that of the other springs, steady and uninterrupted. It bursts forth as if striving for a larger vent; alternately towering aloft, and again partially subsiding:—a natural effect of those large volumes of elastic steam with which the water is united. No one can contemplate, without sensations of astonishment and awe, this mass of almost boiling fluid thus furiously bursting forth, and involving in its vapour the whole vale around; neither will these sensations be diminished by the reflection, that the platform whereon

the spectator stands is nowhere more than six feet in thickness, and often less than two; and that all below is cavern and abyss.

Leaving the *medicinal* properties of the waters to be discussed by those who are professionally acquainted with their peculiarities, I will only observe of them that they are powerfully alterative, and that in a great variety of cases, especially those connected with organic obstructions and functional derangements, they are understood to be singularly efficacious. Of the *geological* phenomena, however, of a region so remarkable, and which has exercised the minds and the pens of so many distinguished philosophers, some details may not be devoid of interest.\* Along the whole course of the Tepel the rock which forms the sides of the valley is a granite, generally porphyritic, which extends towards the east and the west for several English miles. In the higher parts of the valley towards the south, it has a tendency to become mica-schistose, and at the other extremity towards the north, where the valley terminates a little beyond Carlsbad, its declivity is covered with later rocks, from which it occasionally breaks out. In some few localities the granite is observed to be as fine as sandstone, and penetrated with large crystals of feldspar; but its general texture is coarse and

\* My principal guide on this subject has been the able and interesting work of M. von Hof on the geology of Carlsbad, having compared his statements with my own observations as far as my very limited means and knowledge enabled me to do so.

angular. The mica, black and dark green, is never in large leaves, but sometimes crystallized in irregular hexagon prisms, an inch long, and two or three lines in diameter. The quartz is often in large masses, usually clear and transparent, but sometimes dark and smoky. The feldspar, which is far more abundant than either of the other minerals, has many varieties of colour and mass; and, besides that which is properly crystallized, much is to be seen of a loose earthy texture, which is easily decomposed by the atmosphere; a decomposition to which is here ascribed that kind of "rottenness" in the granite, which, although generally of intense hardness, I have in several points about the hills found to crumble away when merely touched by the finger.\* The only point at which the granite walls of the narrow valley somewhat open out is at Carlsbad, just below the Wiese; and it is precisely in the space so created, and which, like the rest of the vale, is centrally traversed by the

\* Mr. Lyell, in his able work on the Principles of Geology, notices the same circumstance in the granite of Auvergne; and, guided by his directions, I have there noticed, in the immediate neighbourhood of Clermont, the curious formation of a kind of secondary granite. The disintegrated elements of the primary rock were washed by a torrent down a water-course, until, arrested by some impediment, the grains of quartz, feldspar, and mica arranged themselves into a compound, which, dried and hardened by the atmosphere and mutual pressure, again assume the consistency of solid rock. Mr. Lyell ascribed the decomposition in Auvergne to the permeation of carbonic acid gas; and this may be likewise a powerful operating cause at Carlsbad.

river, that the hot springs all break forth : all, as before observed, identical in contents, although considerably varying in temperature.\*

The various springs, although thus impregnated with similar contents, arise in two distinct species of rock. On the *left* bank of the river, in that part where the valley somewhat opens out, is an extensive mass of breccia, rude and irregular in surface, forming the high round insulated hill or mound termed the Schlossberg; and extending on the one side to the base of the granite hills behind, and on the other passing below the stream (of which in this particular point it forms the bed) and resting beyond

\* Berzelius gives us the following as the contents of sixteen ounces of the water.

Sulphate of soda . . . . .	10·86916 gr.
Muriate of soda . . . . .	7·97583
Carbonate of soda . . . . .	9·69500
Carbonate of lime . . . . .	10·05005
Fluoride of calcium . . . . .	0·02458
Phosphate of lime . . . . .	0·00169
Carbonate of strontia . . . . .	0·00737
Carbonate of magnesia . . . . .	1·36965
Phosphate of alumine . . . . .	0·00246
Carbonate of iron . . . . .	0·02780
Carbonate of manganese . . . . .	0·00645
Silica . . . . .	0·57725

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40·60729

In the works wherein this analysis is given the quantities are as I have placed them, but the sum of them is made, by an erroneous addition, 49·60719.

it on the granite of the other side of the vale. It is composed of angular masses of granite, cemented in some parts by a brown ochreous fine-grained limestone, and sometimes by a blackish mass partaking of hornblende and silicious slate, with veins and nodules of quartz. Here and there hornblende is united with granite in the compound, and a brown and yellow ochre is deposited in the cavities. From this breccia arise all the springs on the left bank; one among them only, that termed the Schlossbrunn from its position on the Schlossberg, differing from the rest in containing carbonic acid gas, from which, probably on account of their higher temperature, the others are free. On the *right* bank, somewhat higher up than the part where the breccia commences, the Sprudel bursts forth, with six affiliated springs, differing from it very slightly in temperature, within a space of about a hundred square fathoms. These arise from a compact marble-like limestone, called *Sprudelstein*, created by the deposits of the water itself; and which, extending upwards, forms the bed of the river for some considerable distance, resting all along on the granite on either side. The knowledge, resulting from boring and other circumstances, that this platform of Sprudelstein is but a thin and shallow vaulting, sometimes not more than two feet thick, has naturally led to the desire of ascertaining the nature of the fearful abysses below; and, with this view, experiments were made in the years 1713 and 1727,

when, for some local object, the surface was laid open for about forty feet. It was then discovered, that immediately below the upper vaulting were a number of small cavities, not deep, filled with hot water, the flooring and sides of which cavities were also of Sprudelstein. By boring through this flooring for about ten or twelve feet, a second range of cavities was found, also shallow and filled with water. The second flooring was next perforated; when a reservoir was reached below, wherein the water boiled with a fury so terrific, as to render a continuance of the experiments exceedingly difficult and dangerous. It was ascertained, however, that this was not, like the higher cavities, small and shallow; but that it extended horizontally, in one direction at least, nearly thirty fathoms, beyond which the machinery for measurement could not be carried. Its length on the opposite side was not attempted to be proved, nor the depth; but, on some grounds of which I am not well informed, inferences were raised that it was a kind of subterranean canal, extending with ramifications into or below the breccia of the Schlossberg. Subsequent to the year 1727 no further investigations appear to have been attempted; but abundant and alarming indications seem to evince, that the gaseous and fluid contents of the depths below are ever in agitation, and ever striving for vent. In 1823 a casual excavation about five feet deep, made high up on the Schlossberg, caused the present Schlossbrunn to spring

forth, which has ever since formed a constant and copious stream. In 1809 the water of the Sprudel spontaneously made for itself a new orifice through the Sprudelstein, which is the present *Hygeiensquelle*. These safety-valves, as they have been sometimes termed, serve but a temporary purpose ; for the deposit of calcareous matter about the edges of existing openings has a constant tendency to fill them up, and thus to increase, by confinement, the impetuosity of the fluids below. It is probable, therefore, that in years to come, as in years past, ancient fountains will be obliterated, and new ones will appear ; and this process may continue, without materially endangering the habitation of man, unless any paroxysmal energy of the subterranean heat should occasion a concussion—and a very slight one would produce very awful effects—when the Sprudelstein and the breccia, with all that rest upon it, might be buried together in the depths below. On the origin of the heat itself various conjectures have been hazarded. Berzelius imagines it to arise from the still glowing embers of a deep-seated extinct volcano. Against this it is argued, that, from the period when the Sprudel was first noticed, four hundred years ago, until the present time, its temperature has never varied ; and that, when new springs break forth in its vicinity, the heat remains unaltered—whence is inferred some cause more permanent than can be supposed of an extinct volcano. Leaving the question of the *origin* of the heat, its mode of

*operation* is thus conceived by M. Van Hof. Judging from the character of the sides of the valley, he supposes its depth, meaning thereby the fissure in the granite, to be extremely great; and that all the lower parts, descending perhaps to the source of heat, are filled with loose fragments of the granite shaken down from the hills above. The temperature, being  $165^{\circ}$  at the surface, would be greater below; and the water, descending into the chasm through fissures or stratifications from the surface, would at no great depth be converted into steam, and in this state impregnated with the gases arising from beneath through the interstices of the granitic fragments. Thus the upper cavities of the Sprudelstein would alone be filled with *water*, upheaved by the vapour below, and striving for new vents, as circumstances of which we are ignorant, or the process of incrustations, might increase its impetuosity. The calcareous deposit appears to be the result of evaporation merely, not of any chemical action; and, where the process is undisturbed, to proceed at the rate of one inch in nine months. As the force and heat of the vapour in the lower cavities would not allow it to be there deposited, those lower spaces would be kept open, while the lime borne upwards would be allowed to form a continuous mass in the comparatively cooler regions above. If we suppose this grand operation of nature to have commenced at the period when the rock was rent in twain, and the chasm created which forms the valley, the lime and hornstone, which form



the cementing matter of the breccia, may have been the earliest result of the deposit—the force of elastic vapour being then probably greater than it is now, and having sufficed to take up the silex which enters into the composition of the hornstone. Such are the ingenious conjectures of a very ingenious philosopher. Whence proceed the enormous quantities of lime evolved by hot springs, which here, as in Auvergne and several other localities, arise in granite, is a matter of less easy conjecture. We know that this mineral cannot be furnished by the granite itself; and we know also that in volcanic rocks, however apparently produced in or through granite or siliceous rock alone, it does not exist. Several theories have been propounded, each, in the opinion of its author and probably of many others also, adequate to account for the phenomena; but our sphere of observation must be much more extended, before we can arrive at any positive conclusion on this interesting but difficult subject.

Although Carlsbad enjoys, with very few rivals, the highest rank among the aristocratic watering-places of Germany; although potentates and ministers have often assembled around its springs, to hold, with entire freedom from restraint, those communications and conferences on which the repose of Europe may in no small degree depend;—yet, to all outward appearance, health is here the only object. Every one drinks the waters; and by six in the

morning, or even at an earlier hour, may the stranger traversing the Wiese see its numerous inmates emerge from their several portals, each with his little porcelain cup in his hand, hurrying along for his morning potations. Each spring has its votaries : for it is in vain to argue with either physicians or patients on the identity of their analysed contents. Each practitioner has his favourite ; and as the *Muhlbrunn* is under the especial protection of some three or four of the most eminent among them, it has the largest number of regular visitants. The high temperature of the Sprudel, and the low temperature of the Schlossbrunn, cause these to be little frequented ; but none are entirely deserted. Many patients indulge their fancies by taking a part from one spring and a part from another, finishing with a glass from the Sprudel, like a *bonne bouche* of Madeira after a bottle of Claret ; and some are directed to commence with the coolest, and to pass regularly through the others, until they arrive at length at the Sprudel, to which they remain attached for the last fortnight of their course. The period of lustration is from six weeks to two months. The quantity of fluid to be daily taken varies with the fancy or the judgment of the medical adviser ; but in all cases the size of the cups is the same, being four ounces, or a quarter of a pint ; and the interval between each draught is a quarter of an hour. Our excellent friend, Dr. De Carro\*, was a moderate man, never

\* Dr. De Carro received a considerable part of his medical

requiring the cups to be filled more than eight or nine times before breakfast, and not to be used at all in the subsequent parts of the day; but, under other advice, the morning portion was extended to twelve or even sixteen cups, besides a second supply, of eight to ten, in the afternoon: and in order to get through this awful quantity in decent time for breakfast, many a poor patient commenced the work at five, and even at four in the morning. Except at the Sprudel, where, as if in accordance with the greater dignity of the fountain, the cups are filled by aged matrons, the services of the springs are performed by young girls from ten to thirteen years of age, neatly habited in a costume of green, who succeed each other at convenient intervals, and whose conduct is under the strictest regulation. Under one of the long covered corridors which are attached to each of the springs is stationed an admirable band of musicians, who play from six till eight in the morning. Everything connected with the comfort and accommodation of the guests is excellently arranged. No military or civil functionary of police is ever to be seen: but, in the spirit which prevails so

education at Edinburgh; and being long attached to the British Medical Staff, became physician to the Embassy at Vienna, whence he effected the earliest transmission of vaccine matter to India, a service for which he possesses honourable testimonials from Dr. Jenner, Governor Duncan of Bombay, and the East India Company. He now practises at Carlsbad during the season, and I embrace this opportunity of expressing our sense of thankfulness to him, not only as an able physician, but as a valuable and obliging friend.

much in Austria, the most unrestrained individual liberty appears to be combined with the most perfect public order.

Our stay at Carlsbad extended to nearly two months, embracing the fullest period of the season ; and one week passed on after another with considerable enjoyment, although with little variety. Were it not for the fatigue attendant on so early a commencement of the labours of the day, the morning promenades would be highly agreeable and amusing. Here were all ages, and ranks, and kindreds, and nations ; and many a sovereign prince, not creating nor subjected to the formalities of Teplitz, but presenting his cup, as best he might, to the youthful naiads of the fountain. Some few servants in livery might be seen, especially about the Muhlbrunn, conveying to and fro the cups of their ladies ; but this was a matter of necessity rather than of choice, so dense was the crowd which generally surrounded the favoured source. The physicians flitted about from patient to patient on the walks ; and people met each other, and formed a kind of temporary intimacy as they compared the results of their respective experiences, and idled away the intervening periods between the potations, in wandering from spring to spring, or strolling about the gardens of the Theresienbrunn, or in perambulating the long covered colonnade above the Tepel, to the sound of the splendid harmonies of Beethoven and Mozart. Except the English, who are always behindhand when early hours are imposed, very few stragglers were seen

about the springs later than eight o'clock. Exercise must then be taken for an hour, in order to "digest the waters," after which I always found myself in excellent disposition for breakfast and repose. The scene from our windows on the Wiese was at this time delightful. A sort of fashion prevails, of breakfasting in the open air; and groups of ladies and children, the inmates of the neighbouring houses, were assembled to take their tea or coffee around tables spread beneath the trees. The Grand Duchess Helena was very fond of this sort of rural ease; and always, when the weather permitted, we might see her thus engaged, with her three young daughters, and her two brothers, the princes of Würtemberg, while the Grand Duke strolled up and down, occasionally joining his family. After the breakfast the work-box would sometimes be brought, and ladies would pay their visits from table to table, and exchange a greeting with their passing friends. Two is the hour for dinner. Some may dine at one, and some at three, but the usual time is two,—an hour which I always found to arrive far too soon after breakfast. There are no tables d'hôte, or, if there be any, they are attended only by the inferior classes of visitors. The generality of persons dine *à la carte*, individually or in parties, at some one of the numerous hotels and restaurants; and of these the Salle de Saxe,—a spacious saloon at the extremity of the Wiese, and which serves for the purposes also of balls and evening assemblies,—is then crowded to excess.

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This is the principal and most expensive place of fashionable resort: yet here, at the price of one florin (two shillings), a good dinner is provided; in which, indeed, no licence is allowed to the caprices of the epicure, for, however various be the taste of the guests, all are served with precisely the same dishes. Whatever be the excellencies of Carlsbad, it is by no means the place for a gourmand. With the exception of venison and trout, and butter and bread, every article of eating is inferior; and the poultry of all kinds miserable. The physicians, too, have assumed a dictatorial authority, not inferior to that exercised in his island over the unfortunate Sancho Panza. They have established a dietary system, which, aided by the police in controlling the markets, is compulsory on all. Certain articles are allowed, as congenial with the proper action of the waters, and certain others are prohibited, as opposed to it. Beef, mutton, veal, venison are in the permitted list, but the flesh of the unclean animal is proscribed; geese are forbidden, ducks allowed: fruit of all kinds may be taken *en compote*, but none in a natural state; and so strictly are the dietary rules enforced on the markets and the shops, that very often have I repined at my utter inability to gratify a wayward appetite, with a slice of ham or a plate of cherries. At the Hotel de Saxe, and at the other principal restaurants, *foreign* wines may be found, abundant and good; a circumstance which deserves especial notice, as exhibiting one of those devices whereby the real

indulgence of the Austrian government so frequently tempers its nominal severity. The importation of foreign wines into the empire is prohibited, except only for *private* use ; they cannot, therefore, be legally sold at a restaurant ; but the stranger will always perceive, in the list which is offered him, some *native* wines, at high prices, designated *wie* (like) some wine of foreign growth : and thus, if he calls for Nesmuller *wie* Rheinwein, or Odenberger *wie* Château Margaux, he will not be disappointed in a very good bottle of Hock or Claret. As to Champagne, it abounds ; and I hardly recollect that it was thought necessary to invest it with any foreign disguise.

In the hours succeeding dinner the population is all in movement. For those who fear not the fatigue of long but gradual ascents, no place, perhaps, abounds so much as Carlsbad in delightful walks, cut among the thick forests up the sides of the vale, and leading, in almost endless variety, to points of interesting and beautiful view. Pedestrians of less active habits may confine themselves to the thickly-wooded paths which follow the rocky windings of the stream in the depth below, or may make excursions, as at Teplitz, to various spots in the comparatively open country beyond the termination of the valley. Equestrians are not numerous ; but every carriage is in requisition—caleche, berline, britzka, droska, and other nameless vehicles, among which may be often seen some strange conveyance from Moscow or St. Petersburg, with three, four, and I once saw five,

horses abreast, driven by a coachman, with beard covering his bosom, and arrayed in a loose cloak-like kind of coat, made of dark blue cloth, descending to his ankles, and confined at the waist by a strap of leather. A small poor theatre there is, but its performances commence at four and end at six. The promenaders return early from their rambles; for in this deep glen the solar rays pass soon away, and a damp chilly fog overhangs the vale for two or three hours, until, condensed by the cold, it again disappears, and leaves the atmosphere of the night as clear as that of noon. As the day closes in, the Wiese is again thronged for a time; and here and there may be seen a group of ladies assembled round the tea-table beneath the trees. On Sundays and Thursdays the Salle de Saxe was open for dancing, to which all were admitted who paid a moderate subscription for the season. The Grand Duke Michael and his lady rarely missed these assemblies; and in order the better to promote a feeling of unceremonious equality, his Imperial Highness appeared usually in boots and a frock-coat: but still, except by a few persons of the highest rank, they were very little attended. Scarcely ever did the number assembled amount to forty; among whom a quiet whist-table in one corner of the room would occupy four, and some of the others would occasionally, and at long intervals, go through a waltz or a quadrille, until the hour of ten arrived, when all retired. These, with the theatre, were the only public amusements. Of private re-



unions there were scarcely any. Some few soirées were given by certain foreign ambassadors, who might seem to be here taking in their daily charges from the caldrons of Carlsbad, to keep the world afterwards the more completely in hot water: but generally the family tea-table or the piano collected together some few straggling friends from the Wiese below; and as all were to meet by six on the following morning at the springs, all felt it expedient to retire early to repose.

Such is the life of Carlsbad, and such is it also, with slight variations, at all the Austrian baths. The strict prohibition of gaming, the habits of early hours, and the general tone of the public character, divest it of that noisy gaiety which forms perhaps the principal attraction of the more western watering-places; but, if this be wanting, its place is well supplied by the tranquil pleasures of fine scenery, entire freedom from the restraints of ceremony, and the fullest indulgence of varied and interesting society. The expenses of living are astonishingly low, except in the article of lodging; and even this is only high in comparison of the generality of Germany. The permanent inhabitants of all classes, the tradespeople, the servants and attendants, are gentle, obliging, and honest. As I have observed of the Austrians generally, a sort of affectionate kindness runs through their whole demeanour. They are a neat and comely population; and in their persons and conduct (at Carlsbad) so

great is their cleanliness, that the very floors of the rooms, and even the staircases, might afford models in this respect for the dining-tables of many a western country. The march of the government is carried on chiefly or wholly on the Austrian principle of willing obedience. No military appear in the streets, and rarely in the country around. After the first deposit of the passport (which is returned on departure), no agent of police is seen or heard of. A public news-room, to which the subscription is low, is well provided with German papers; to which are added the *Galignani* and other Paris journals, as may be also the *Times*, and certain other London papers, if the subscription suffice to cover the expense. My brother, considering it desirable that the English then at the baths should have the opportunity of attending divine service, expressed to the chief magistrate his inclination to perform it. The answer was prompt and courteous: it stated that such a desire would be in entire accordance with the laws and the wishes of the Emperor; and on the seven succeeding Sundays the services of the Church were performed in our apartments, to a congregation of usually from thirty to forty of our countrymen.

Of the more distinguished individuals then at Carlsbad, the greater portion were either natives of the Austrian states, or visitors from Russia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony. To these might be added some few remarkable persons from other countries, both of the east and the west, chiefly con-

nected with the court or the interests of Russia, and who resorted hither rather from political than sanatory motives. Of Prussians there were few, and of French and Italians scarcely any. The English, including children and domestics, did not number fifty in the whole; and they, as usual, lived much apart, pursuing their objects of health and pleasure according to their own peculiar habits: but, to a person somewhat initiated in continental society, the great charm of Carlsbad is the facility of hourly communication with eminent persons from almost every country of Europe; and the perpetual opportunity of amusement and instruction, arising from the unceremonious character of their mutual intercourse. Here a casual acquaintance soon ripens into intimacy. Persons slightly known to each other in the cold atmosphere of courts and cities, lapse into familiarity and friendship; and many are the pleasing recollections, which my own experience suggests, of the happy and interesting hours that I have passed at Carlsbad, with friends whom I may scarcely hope in this world ever to meet again. As we sat in groups on the benches of the Wiese, or around the family tea-table in the saloon above, every subject of European interest was habitually discussed. Anecdotes and descriptions of men and manners, courts and armies, laws and institutions, were exchanged by statesmen and courtiers and generals, as well as agriculturists and advocates, many of whom had themselves guided, in no small degree, the hidden

springs of public action in their respective countries. If the precise character of pending transactions, and perhaps of existing political intrigues, were little adverted to by those whom they immediately concerned, yet general views were not withheld; and disclosures of past events, and surmises of future ones, were made with the frankness of social confidence. Such associations constitute, in every country, perhaps the principal advantage of foreign travel. They cast a correct light on many a political action and decision, which had only been surveyed, hitherto, through the mist of prejudice or party feeling. They exhibit the real character and bearing of institutions little understood in other lands. If in some points they draw aside a veil which has concealed the malevolence and perfidies of human selfishness, they much more frequently expand the mind to generous sympathies with our fellow-man. They correct the acerbities of national exclusiveness; and while they serve to confirm the attachment of the patriot to all he loves and values in his native land, they unfold to him advantages and excellencies in many an institution of foreign countries, political or religious, which his ideas may have hitherto involved in sweeping condemnation.

As the end of August approached, every day witnessed many departures and few arrivals. An Englishman is astonished at the enormous quantity of baggage which accompanies a German or a Russian family in their travels. Huge, ponderous machines

were now seen at many a door—something of a mixture between the berline and the road waggon—receiving their gradual accumulation of chest heaped upon chest, and package suspended under package, with which they were to be drawn heavily along by six post-horses on the morrow. Some such I have seen with a large double chest of drawers, fixed in a receptacle behind, from which they might be removed *en masse*; while on the roof were deposited rolls of bedding and cases of provisions. All is secured by chains and bars of iron; while double drags, of portentous strength, hang beside the wheels; and it is a matter of some difficulty to distinguish, within, the heads of three or four human individuals, who are almost lost in the vastness of the moving castle.

Among the departures at the end of August was that of the Grand Duke Michael and his family. A sort of uncouth, Asiatic magnificence, in the number of servants, horses, and carriages, is a general characteristic of the Russians. The Grand Duke, with his suite and baggage, occupied no less than five-and-twenty vehicles: in one of which were himself and the duchess alone; in another the chief lady-in-waiting; in a third the three children, all daughters, with their governante. The rest were occupied by attendants of various grades; groups of whom had been usually hanging about the doors, ill-clothed, slovenly-looking persons, with apparently no occupation. The stay of their imperial highnesses at Carlsbad had been about five or six weeks; and

their expenses were excessive, although unaccompanied by any apparent splendour. Except having given one or two balls, their general mode of life was quiet and domestic. They appeared to delight in absence from restraint, and were frequently strolling about the walks with their children and two or three friends or attendants; until, in their morning costume, they repaired to the assembly at the Salle de Saxe, or retired to their apartments, where some few select individuals might form their evening circle. It too often happens that, in large and ill-appointed establishments, great sums of money are muddled away without dignity and without enjoyment. The regular income of the Grand Duke is, as was stated to me, seventy thousand paper roubles per month, or about £30,000 sterling per annum; but it was a matter of regret by those who were encharged with the payment of his accounts, that during his residence at Carlsbad his expenditure had considerably exceeded his income.

A kind of second season commences at Carlsbad in the beginning of September, and is sometimes prolonged till the middle of October; at which time the cold damp air of the valley causes physicians and patients alike to take their departure. It is in this second season that the Poles (such as can obtain the requisite passports) principally resort to the waters, and form there a society among themselves. In this particular year, the disinclination of very many among them to congregate in a place wherein a Russian

Grand Duke was the principal personage, may have formed an especial motive for the lateness of their arrival: but it has usually occurred that pecuniary circumstances, the want of credit for loans, and the necessity of selling or engaging a portion of the agricultural produce of the year, in order to raise the means for travelling, have formed a necessary impediment to their earlier movements. Were it not for the disadvantage of climate, no season would probably be so agreeable at Carlsbad as that wherein the families of this unfortunate nation form its principal society. Whatever be their political faults and follies—and however fatal to themselves and their country may have been the corrupt intrigues of the chiefs, and the factious conceited turbulence of the subordinates—no people perhaps so happily combine, as the superior class of the Poles, that cultivation of mind, and that sort of ingenuous frankness of character, which constitute together the principal charm of social life. A few of them there were among the visitants even during our sojourn at the baths; and among these were some of our most agreeable, I may say most delightful, associates. Poland, their dearly-cherished country, would be a frequent theme of their conversation; but, while they grieved for its sad degradation, the wiser among them would admit the internal vices and corruptions by which that degradation was occasioned. From their communications I am led to the opinion that, in *Prussian* Poland, much individual liberty is enjoyed; the public administration wise and impartial; and the

condition of the country flourishing and improving; but the taxation is heavy. In Gallicia, that portion of the Polish spoils which has fallen to the *Austrian sceptre*, the condition of the people is very inferior. The taxation is felt to be oppressive; as the principal element of Austrian finance, the land-tax, is now extended equally to it as to the other provinces of the empire, and is made to bear alike on the nobles and on the peasants. It is complained of, consequently, as a galling impost, by a poor and thriftless *nobility*, whose lands under the old Polish aristocracy were wholly exempt from charge: while, on the other hand, as the government has not ventured to adopt more than very gradual improvements for the abatement of feudality, there is less encouragement to industry than in the more anciently annexed districts, and hence the *non-noble* classes are poor and discontented. In the *Russian* portion, which does, or did, constitute the *kingdom* of Poland under a viceroy from St. Petersburg, there is no individual liberty or political right;\* but the taxation is easy, and the general condition is again beginning to thrive. Before

\* We were acquainted at Carlsbad with a Polish gentleman, whom we hope some day to visit at his château in Volhynia. The territorial arrangements of the Congress of Vienna had rendered him a Russian subject, and his brother a Prussian. The latter had free liberty of locomotion; but our friend had been for years applying for a passport to come to Carlsbad; the refusal having been usually accompanied with the intimation that, if he required *warm springs* for the recovery of his health, he might repair to the Caucasus, where such were to be found!



the late revolution, it was pre-eminently prosperous. Agriculture and manufactures had improved most rapidly ; and, for elegance and luxury, Warsaw was scarcely inferior to any city in Europe. All this public welfare was blasted for a time by the internal war. The superior classes were involved in ruin, and their inferiors necessarily partook of the general misery ; while the government, now rendered suspicious and distrustful, became arbitrary, oppressive, and vexatious. The history of Poland is a painful chapter in the annals of Europe. To its earlier faults and sufferings it were vain now to recur ; but its more recent evils may in good measure be traced to that somewhat exaggerated liberalism of Alexander, at the period of the Congress of Vienna, which induced him to grant them a form of political constitution for which the people were as yet by no means suited ; and whereof he himself bitterly repented when it was too late to retract. The leading members in the Chambers at Warsaw combined the theories of French revolutionary equality, with the recollections of their ancient Diets, under whom the king was but a puppet in the hands of some ruling faction among the feudal aristocracy. They contrived, without going beyond the letter of their new constitution, to render impracticable the march of the executive government ; and the latter was induced, with a view to sustain its authority, to infringe in many instances those rights, which the articles of the constitution conferred. Complaints, remonstrances, and resistance naturally ensued. Con-

stantine exerted a vigour beyond the law, in the seizure, the exile, or the punishment, of several individuals without the form of trial. The Crown and the Chambers were soon in a state of warfare; and the latter, which should constitutionally have met every year for the granting of supplies, were not convoked for two successive years, and probably would never have been convoked again. The revolution of the Three Days broke out at Paris, and was followed by that of the Poles, who armed in the cause of independence a force of between seventy and eighty thousand men. Armaments of well-disciplined and appointed troops, and of more than double that numerical strength, were brought to menace them by the Emperor; and then might a pacification have been concluded, and the sword of destruction been arrested, but for the assurances given to the agent of the Polish executive government, by one of the most exalted diplomatic functionaries of France, "That, if the champions of independence would only sustain their position for six weeks, they should be effectively supported by French assistance." At great peril they did maintain their ground, during the period prescribed; but the proffered aid was not afforded, and the fury of the Russian victors was intensely, and perhaps not quite unjustly, aggravated, by the apparently *useless* protraction of the contest, on the part of those whom they considered their rebellious subjects. Of the Poles who were captured, the chiefs of the principal families were exiled to Siberia; and, if the account conveyed to me

by their countrymen be correct, their condition there is appalling. They would have been shot as rebels at Warsaw, but that the execution of some hundreds of illustrious men would have produced an effect in Europe generally, and even in Russia itself, which the government wished to avoid. To remove them to Siberia was an easy, and, ostensibly, a merciful measure; and one which attracted no public notice. They were there loaded with irons; and, wearing the convict dress, were placed to work as common labourers in the mines. Their property was confiscated, and their families degraded. Their consorts were, in many instances, the forced or the voluntary associates of their exile, and exchanged the palaces of Warsaw for a wretched hut at the mouth of some Siberian mine; while their sons, when sufficiently matured in age, were drafted into regiments as private soldiers. Of late, several ordinances of graduated mercy have been partially extended. Some of the exiles have been withdrawn from actual labour, but retain their irons and their convict dress, and live in huts around the mines. Others have received the greater privilege of being removed entirely from the mines, and being drafted as privates into the ranks of certain regiments permanently quartered in these desolate regions: and among those with whom I have been personally acquainted, was a lady of princely title, whose brother is, or was then, in the former of these conditions of grace; and her uncle, likewise a Polish prince, in the latter. The mind recoils from

the contemplation of sufferings such as these, and may wish to seek something of a consolatory palliation, in the reflection that many, at all events, among the victims had added somewhat of personal perfidy to what was termed political offence, by directing against the Russian supremacy the power and influence of those offices and commands, which they had accepted as favours from Russian confidence. These, however, are probably cases of exception; and if it be alleged that in every country in Europe, even under the laws of England until recent times, attainder of blood and confiscation of property fell on the innocent offspring of convicted traitors, yet it must be remembered also, that no form of trial, no protective process as to law or fact, intervened between the unhappy Poles and the execution of the imperial mandate. It may well be hoped, that the tendency to mercy, which has been partially evinced, will be more fully developed; and that, when the new organization of Poland, whatsoever it be, shall have been completed, the miners of Siberia will, like the political offenders of Ham and Milan, be restored to their liberty, by a government which no longer dreads their power of disturbance.

In our circle of political gossipers, one was a member of the most distinguished native family in the Ionian Islands, and another a principal landed proprietor in Moldavia. I mention them merely, however, as instances of that admirable tact which distinguishes the Russian court; for both these noblemen wore the

gold key of chamberlains to the emperor, and both were of course attached to his interests. One only of those with whom I was in intimate relation at Carlsbad I permit myself to cite by name, in order, by its authority, to render an act of justice to certain living individuals, whom popular suspicion has sometimes charged with a great and horrible crime. This was Prince Louis of Rohan—a friend with whom my own acquaintance commenced with the earliest years of my life, and whose joyousness of temper, kindness of heart, and extraordinary social qualities, improved by an acute discrimination and a most extensive intercourse with the world, will ever endear his memory to those who enjoyed his intimacy. The family of Rohan were closely allied with the illustrious house of Condé; and, had the late Duke de Bourbon died intestate, a considerable portion of his vast possessions would have descended to them as heirs-at-law. Prince Louis generally passed a part of the year in France, where he was a frequent companion of the duke; and in the year preceding the revolution of the Three Days, it had been my fortune to meet him frequently at the Palais Bourbon, and also to pass some weeks with him as a guest of his royal highness at Chantilly. The duke was at that period sinking in health, and habitually dejected in mind. From the period when the Duke d'Enghien, the last hope of his house, sunk beneath the butchery of Vincennes, he had always been a man of joyless melancholy. Never would he assume his rightful

title of Prince de Condé, from the painful recollection that he had now no heir to whom that title might descend. He was proud of his lineage, but most gentle and kindly in his manners; very splendid in his habits and ideas, but simple in his personal conduct. His style of living was sumptuous. His stud comprised two hundred and thirty horses, all, except eleven, of English breed. His stables at Chantilly were the most magnificent in Europe, and, including his hunting establishment, gave occupation to more than eighty officers and grooms. His table was often laid for forty or fifty persons, and regularly attended by thirty servants in the gorgeous livery of his house, besides the domestics of higher class. The most eminent personages of France paid their court to him: among whom, at the time to which I am referring, the old Prince de Talleyrand was one of the most regular attendants at his soirées, to form one of his party at whist. General officers were his aides-de-camp and secretaries; a peer of France did the secondary honours of his house, as "*premier gentilhomme*;" and his concerns, territorial and domestic, were managed by titled officers, who, as "*intendant*," "*directeur des chasses*," "*premier ecuyer*," &c. &c., formed as it were his cabinet-council. Yet the lord of these almost royal establishments found in them no charm to wile away the disconsolate weariness of a life without an object, and a dignity without a successor. By the events of the Three Days his mind was fearfully shattered. He conceived that

his honour required him to emigrate from France with the chief of the Bourbons, while the decrepitude of age and infirmity seemed to fix him on a soil where he would be doomed to yield a forced submission to an elected sovereign. After some few weeks of wretchedness and suffering, the last of the Condés was found suspended by a handkerchief round his neck to a bar above his bed-room window—perfectly dead. Investigations, in the nature of our coroner's inquest, were held upon the body, but they established only the facts connected with its discovery and appearance; offering no clue to the causes by which death had been produced. The will, executed nearly two years previously, was found to contain three dispositions only of any importance; first, a provision for the endowment of a college, which the duke had founded in favour of the families of those who had formed the army of Condé in the earlier years of the Revolution; secondly, property in land and money to an individual, which might amount to £300,000 sterling; a sum, however large for the party who received it, yet of comparatively little importance in the bulk of his possessions; thirdly, the entire residue of his domains and property of every kind to his godson, the Duke d'Aumale, fourth son of the present king of the French. Circumstances of a peculiar character connected with this will induced the Prince Louis of Rohan to contest its validity; and, in the course of the long litigation which ensued, an endeavour was made to prove, not

only that the will was void, but that the unhappy prince had been murdered by those who might have an interest in its support. It was alleged that he had ever evinced the most hostile feelings to the house of Orleans. It was attempted to be shown that, had his life been spared, he would have given a widely different direction to his testamentary devises ; and, moreover, that an infirmity of his arm rendered it impossible for him to have himself tied the noose of the handkerchief by which he was suspended.\* The validity of the will was ultimately decreed ; and, at the suit of a party whom it had been sought to implicate in the charge of murder, damages were obtained against Prince Louis for the calumnious character of the legal proceedings : but still the belief of the death having been the effect of violence continued rather general in France, and has been a good deal extended in other parts of Europe. Under these circumstances, no small value attaches to the opinion of Prince Louis of Rohan himself, the plaintiff in the cause, whose counsel was not only the original and most strenuous asserter of the murder, but actually wrote a very vehement pamphlet to give

\* As individuals attached to his service asserted this to be the fact, it was somewhat hazardous to express a doubt of it ; but others, who had equally the opportunity of forming a judgment, have expressed a different opinion. My own means of knowledge are of course very limited ; but I have sometimes sat next beside the Duke, both at dinner and the card-table, and should by no means, myself, have arrived at this conclusion.



additional popular effect to his forensic pleadings. The subject was often spoken of between the prince and myself, both at Carlsbad and in excursions we made together elsewhere. It was discussed with the frankness resulting from our long and confidential intercourse, and our knowledge of the persons and the connexions by which the Duke had been surrounded; and I have great satisfaction in recording that he distinctly imparted to me his opinion (in which my own entirely coincided) that the Duke de Bourbon *was not the victim of assassination*. To account for the vehement assertions and pleadings of his advocate, it may suffice to suppose that the very eminent lawyer, to whose discretion the entire management of the cause was confided, may have been somewhat actuated by political motives in labouring to establish a crime, for the purpose of connecting therewith, at any rate to the extent of a corrupt and criminal connivance, the present King of the French. He may hence have been led to give to this part of the case a prominent importance, unsanctioned by his absent principal, and which may have possibly tended to impair, rather than improve, what that principal might have conceived to be the real strength of his position; or it might be that the Prince himself was originally a believer of the fact, and gave his instructions accordingly, but that the progress and results of the trial effaced from his mind the impressions he had previously received. Be these points as they may, the opinion he expressed to me was clear and positive;

with this addition, however, that it is by no means necessary to conclude suicide to have been committed, if murder was not. Respect for the memory of a most kind but unfortunate Prince, the last of an illustrious house, forbids any public discussion on the peculiar and somewhat painful circumstances which attended the later period of his life ; but, whatever be *my own* sentiments on the subject, it was the opinion of Prince Louis that those circumstances afforded sufficient grounds to account for the suspension of the body, without admitting the belief that the death had been occasioned by violence, either from his own or from other hands.

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## CHAPTER III.

BOHEMIA—Climate, Soil, Geology—Travellers—Appearance and Condition of the People—Eger—Baths of Franzenbad—Marienbad, Situation, Waters, Mud and Gas Baths, Society—Journey to Prague—Description of the City—Palaces, Churches, Libraries—Ancient noble Families—Population, Institutions, Commerce, and improving Condition—Procession to supplicate Rain—Language of Bohemia—Remarks on the Austrian Policy towards Bohemia.

THE ancient kingdom of Bohemia is one of the most elevated countries in Europe. It is surrounded, and partly intersected, by mountains, chiefly of granite, gneiss, and other primitive rock, underlaying the coal formations and red sand-stone, above which, again, are strata of green sand-stone and brown coal. The climate is rendered, by the geographical feature of the country, more severe than might be expected from the degrees of latitude between which it ranges; and, through the winter, damp thick fogs rest in the valleys, and cold sharp winds sweep the open plains. Hence the habitations of the rural population present to the eye much of that naked and cheerless appearance, which usually characterise them in mountain districts. Those of the hamlets and smaller towns

are of wood or of stone, with roofs of shingle or of thatch often projecting over the sides, generally of one floor, and very seldom of more than two, with low doors, and very small deep windows: within, however, they are warm and comfortable; and (as has been elsewhere observed), in traversing Bohemia in various directions, I have looked in vain for a broken pane of glass or a dislocated timber. Around these wintry-looking tenements are not unfrequently seen some little shrubberies—some humble exhibition of cottage-taste—which evince that the inmates are raised above the sense of penury: but such decorations are often checked by the sweeping winds. The features of the country are generally large and broad: extensive woodlands, or often unenclosed plains, cultivated on the principle explained in Vol. II., by the “subjects” of some great feudal lord. Some of the plains, however, as, for instance, that on which the eye looks down from the *Pröbischer Thor*, are of great beauty, exhibiting, in the richest luxuriance, a combination of foliage and corn-fields, and villages interspersed among them; and even in the more cold and bleak exposures, the agriculture is not unthrifty to the eye, although its implements are heavy and clumsy. The horses and cattle are everywhere well and kindly kept, and are in excellent order—the harnesses, not of rope as in France, but all of leather—and the passing traveller when he views a rude assemblage of ground-floor wooden buildings, perched on an open plain, without a tree or an

enclosure near them, may be sometimes led to indulge an ill-required compassion for a people, whose enjoyments of the substantial necessities of life—food, clothing, and warm lodging—may be much greater than those of the corresponding classes in the country from whence he comes.

Having condensed, in the general chapters of the second portion of this work, the greater part of the observations made in our several perambulations in Bohemia, I shall not fatigue the reader with a detail of the various routes we followed. The roads we found excellent. The posting is regular and good. The towns are antique in appearance—walled,—with ancient portals, and narrow, ill-paved, dirty streets. Of the villages I have already spoken. They are almost always, as are many of the towns, constructed of wood, walls and roof—sometimes the walls are of brick and stone, with roofs of wood or of thatch; but, however constructed, they exhibit no appearance of misery or neglect—and, so far, do credit to the administration of the feudal lordships, of which the great majority both of them and of the smaller towns, are the dependents.

The people have generally a stout and healthy look. They live much, as in all parts of Germany, upon rye-bread and swine-flesh in various forms; with beer, which is abundant and excellent, for their beverage of excitement, instead of the thin acid wine which is chiefly used along the banks of the Danube. In all the towns, indeed, as well as in the villages, where strangers occasionally stop, rolls of wheat-

bread are found—and very good they are; but the native German, of the middle and lower classes, prefers the bread made of rye. This is formed into very large loaves, six or seven inches in diameter, either extended some two or three feet in length, or wound into a hoop; and to my palate it is so unpleasant, such a dark sour pudding sort of paste, that I should have felt compassion even for the horses to whom it is largely given, were it not that the animals appeared to partake the tastes of their masters, and ever to devour it with great avidity.

The dress of the peasantry is warm and substantial, and consists much (especially that of the females) of woollen articles, worked up by their own domestic industry. The men have generally very broad-brimmed black hats, which are here made well and cheap; black or brown woollen jackets; leather short breeches; and boots reaching up to the knee. The women wear jackets of a stuff much like flannel, and coarse brown woollen petticoats, made very large and full, and stuck out with hoops. The poorest only among them have their legs and feet bare; but often may be seen a pair of bright scarlet stockings, forming a striking contrast with the sombre drapery above. In one point, and that, too, amid the highest and most important of those which constitute the charms of the female figure, the Bohemian women greatly excel. Those, indeed, who labour in the fields or stand in the markets, and whose avocations require them to be much in the air, cover their heads with cotton handkerchiefs, but with the rest of the sex in the inferior

classes, save when age or infirmity requires protection, the head is always bare, and the cleanliness and elegance with which the hair is arranged are admirable. Such is it with all the female servants at Carlsbad and the other towns, all the attendants in the shops, and generally all who are not *habitually* exposed to the severities of the weather; for they take no covering for passing merely from street to street. The hair is nicely divided along the top, brought along the sides, and done up with a comb at the back, with all the exactness and real elegance, although not the grace-perverting artifices, of the ball-room. It is as fine and as glossy and as fresh, as if hours were employed in its daily decoration; and ladies of highest rank in certain countries of western continental Europe, among whom the coarseness and impurity of this essential ornament go far to nullify the attractions of every other charm, might take a most important lesson in the art of pleasing, from the simple maidens of Bohemia.

EGER, which we visited soon after quitting Carlsbad, is distant from it about thirty English miles. It was once a place of importance as a frontier fortress: but its walls have been partly pulled down, and its defences fallen to ruin. It is however a spacious and rather handsome city, with nearly ten thousand inhabitants, and is remarkable for some public buildings, and for memorials of the great commander Wallenstein, who was here assassinated in the year

1634, under very mysterious circumstances. About two English miles from Eger are the baths of **FRANZENBAD**, whose mineral springs supply a water which is much exported under the name of Eger-water. It is a small place, consisting of three tolerable streets, one of which is lined with trees and well-built houses. There are four springs, all cold, and somewhat varying in contents.\* The mode of life is very tranquil, and the visitors do not exceed a thousand in the course of the season. The waters, charged with fixed air, are considered, like nine-tenths of mineral springs, to be excellent for affections of the liver and other organs. About the wells, and close around the town, much taste is exhibited in the walks and public promenades; but these seem the only resources, except that of hunting in the district around. The place is without good shops,—a circumstance which may be accounted for by its vicinity to Eger,—and is situated close upon a peat-bog, with an ugly open plain around it, destitute of beauty for walks or for rides. Between Carlsbad and Eger we passed through many rich and beautiful plantations of hops. In some the gathering was already completed, and in others we observed the process then going forward. The hops are trained upwards around poles, as with us; but, instead of being gathered in the

\* The waters of the principal source contain, in 16 ounces, 25·4 grains of sulphate of soda, 8·9 of muriate of soda, 8·4 of bi-carbonate of soda, 1·6 of carbonate of lime, a small quantity of several other ingredients, with a little iron, and 21·106 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas.



field, the vines themselves are stripped from their supports, and conveyed in wheelbarrows to the barn or store, where the fruit is subsequently picked.

Except as regards society, and probably without even admitting that exception, MARIENBAD would be to me the most pleasing of the Bohemian watering-places. The distance from Carlsbad is about four-and-twenty English miles, towards the south; and the road between the two, which I had traversed at a former period, is in many parts wild and singular. On emerging from Carlsbad, it first winds along the ascending vale of the Teple, which it then leaves for a space, to rejoin again higher up. It next quits the river altogether; and, being carried up the steep hills which form the side of the vale, it traverses a wild open country, and some elevated mountain-ridges. Thence it descends again, although in less degree, through an extensive forest of pines, until it reaches a small nearly circular hollow in the hills, open in one part only for about a third of its circumference towards the lower country, and which, in point of mere form, might be taken for the crater of an ancient volcano. Immediately around, except at the opening I have mentioned, the hills arise to a considerable height, covered with dense forests of pine; and in this small crater-like cavity are the springs and baths and buildings of Marienbad. The surface of the ground forms an irregular slope, rising from the base of the hills on the one side, to that of those on

the other—and the houses are constructed all around, not in the form of streets, but in detached rows and groups, very near the foot of the hills, and leaving free the intermediate space. The lower part of the central area is laid out in plantations and walks; and across it stretches a very long broad terrace, partly bordered with trees, which forms the great promenade. At one extremity of the terrace is what may be termed the principal pump-room, a large covered space, enclosed on three sides, from the centre of which burst forth the waters of the “Kreutzbrunn,” strongly impregnated with sulphate and muriate of soda, and sparkling with fixed air. From the pump-room extends a covered colonnade, fronting a low range of buildings, among which is a very spacious ball-room, and a subscription reading-room. The others are chiefly shops and warehouses, open only during the summer season. There are four principal springs, one situated about a mile from the others, in the bosom of a thick wood,—all cold, and all strongly impregnated with mineral alkali and carbonic acid gas. The Kreutzbrunn is saline,\* and

\* Analysis of the Kreutzbrunn. In 16 ounces—

Sulphate of soda . . .	23·677 grains
Muriate of soda . . .	8·993 ,,
Carbonate of soda . . .	15·030 ,,
Carbonate of lime . . .	3·310 ,,
Carbonate of magnesia . . .	1·750 ,,
Smaller ingredients . . .	1·052 ,,
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	53·812 ,,
Carbonic acid gas . . .	8·384 cubic inches.

somewhat similar in solid contents to the waters of Carlsbad. The others are more decidedly chalybeate.

To a person long confined in the deep and close, though romantic valley of Carlsbad, there is something joyous in the escape into this fresh mountain region. The elevation of Marienbad is about nineteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, and seven hundred above that of the Teple at Carlsbad ; and the hills which stand around it, although sufficiently high for picturesque effect, are neither so lofty nor so conjoined, as to intercept the free circulation of the pure and bracing breezes. The waters from the different springs, however varying in other respects, are all of them icy cold, and strongly charged with carbonic acid gas. Thus, those even of the Kreutzbrunn,\* which are the most saline, are exhilarating while they are alterative ; and those from three of the other sources, ess saline, and more chalybeate, may be considered purely tonic. The soil below is as it were a great magazine of fixed air, which, besides impregnating the waters, being evolved in large quantities into the atmosphere, has given rise to the establishment of *gas-baths*, which, as well as those termed *mud-baths*, or *Schlamm-bäder*, are considerably frequented. The former of these may be supposed the more cleanly operation of the two, for in it

\* For the use of the more delicate patients, the waters of the Kreutzbrunn are slightly warmed over stoves erected in the pump-room. They thus lose their icy chill, but with it also their exuberance of carbonic gas.

the patient merely sits in a species of tub, so enclosed at the top as to allow of the head projecting, while streams of the gas are introduced through tubes below, and keep the whole body, or the limb intended to be particularly treated, in a state of pungent titillation. The process is generally found to be by no means unpleasant, and it has a great effect in exciting the vessels of the skin. To enter the *mud-baths* may be, to the lady who values the whiteness of her skin, a more formidable undertaking ; but her apprehensions from the effect of immersion in the hideous mass of thick black paste will yield on the experience of a single trial. The mud is artificially formed from the peat of the soil reduced to the finest powder, and mixed with the mineral water of an adjacent spring. It is heated to the proper temperature ; and, being then poured into a box of suitable size and shape to form a bath, the body sinks into this warm half-liquid paste, which covers it in every part. In a variety of disorders, especially those of a rheumatic character, these baths have the credit of being very efficacious ; and their use is found in practice to be far from disagreeable, although, when the patient first surveys the black slime involving every limb, he may well apprehend that the hue of the scavenger will not be wholly removed. A flood of warm water, however, soon removes his fears. He is surprised to find how completely it all peels off and disappears ; how soft and velvety the skin remains ; and how supple and active are all the joints and muscles of the body.

Marienbad is a creation of the last five-and-twenty years. In 1810, the site on which it stands was a swampy morass in the bosom of the forest; and the mineral springs were unknown, or at least unheeded. About that time, the Premonstratensian fathers of the Monastery of Teple, who are the lords of the soil, and whose residence is about five English miles distant, formed the idea of converting their sanatory treasures to the profit of themselves and of the public. The wood was cleared: the bog was drained: the waters were confined at their springs, and made to flow in convenient channels: and by degrees an elegant watering-place has arisen around them. The fathers derive a rich remuneration for the expenses which they had the spirit and the wisdom to incur; for every year witnesses an increase of visitors, and their number, including those from the commencement to the termination of the season, may be already averaged at nearly two thousand. The general system of living partakes of the usual German routine, but the sanatory discipline is by no means so severe as at Carlsbad. The potations are less numerous, and the exercises less fatiguing. The morning assemblages on the terrace rarely commence earlier than seven, when three, or at the utmost four, glasses are taken; and the repetition of two or three more in the afternoon causes a second assemblage at six or seven o'clock. The dinner-hour may be two or three for private families, but the tables-d'hôtes are here the principal places of mid-day resort, and these are

laid at one. The eating is good. The hotel (Klingers) is clean, commodious, and very reasonable. The hills around abound in most pleasing walks cut through the pine-forests, not so fatiguing and precipitous as those of Carlsbad, and often traversed on the mule or the donkey ; while the open country beyond the immediate vicinity of the place, although inferior in beauty to that surrounding Teplitz, affords excellent rides and drives in various directions. The keenness of the atmosphere, however, and the apprehension of the premature invasion of cold, causes the season to terminate early. In the latter end of August, although the heat was then great, and the thermometer ranged at eighty-four to eighty-six during the middle of the day, we found that the greater number of visitors had already departed. Some few remained, and these were of the highest rank ; comprising the families of some sovereign and mediatised princes ; but they were also preparing to remove. The Grand Duke Michael, with his suite, had passed a few weeks here previous to his visit to Carlsbad ; but this was an inversion of the usual practice. It more frequently occurs, that patients whom the alterative processes of Carlsbad have reduced to a state of undue debility, are recommended to seek the restoration of their energy and vigour by a short subsequent residence at the waters of Marienbad.

The largest proprietor in this part of Bohemia is the Prince de Metternich ; and his château of Kö-

nigswart, distant a few miles from Marienbad, has a rich store of interest for the curious visitor. Here are collected a variety of remarkable objects connected with local and general history; and, in the formation of museums illustrative of the arts and the mineralogy of the country, the prince has conferred a useful service to science; but it is on higher grounds than these that the value of this eminent statesman, as a large and influential landlord, must be regarded and appreciated. On his Bohemian estates, which have of late years been augmented by very extensive purchases, he has established experimental farms. He has introduced from other lands a better system of agriculture and of rural economy. He has erected villages; established schools; and, exerting the powers of his wealth, his influence, and his intellect, for the improvement primarily of his own land and of the cultivators on it, he is contributing secondarily, but most importantly, to the benefit of the kingdom at large. Among the peculiar characteristics of this highly-gifted statesman, none are more striking than the facility with which his mind can discriminate the smallest details, while grasping the mightiest objects; and that quick perception and commanding decision of character, which render him almost a man of leisure, while personally directing the whole government of the empire. He is never hurried nor embarrassed. From the cabinet of state at Vienna he can give directions for the management of his farm-yard in Bohemia; and, after

dictating those instructions on which depends the policy of Austria in every country of Europe, he can find time to pass hours together in familiar conversation with the passing stranger, whose introductions may have rendered him the object of his notice.\*

We rolled along from Marienbad towards Prague by the way of Pilsen, through an undulating country, generally open and cultivated with corn. The roads and horses were excellent, the posts well served, the drivers sharp and active; and, taking the whole distance, about a hundred and ten English miles, we

\* I here refer especially to the communications of the prince with a dear and deeply-lamented friend of mine, a native of Ireland, who was introduced to him by letter from a mutual English acquaintance. He soon perceived my friend to be a man of high acquirements, and one whose only object of travel was the acquisition of information in every branch which might be applied to public good in his native land. Besides the usual invitations to the table and the *soirée*, my friend was told, "From seven till ten on five days of the week (which were specified) you will find me disengaged and at leisure." He of course profited by the invitation; and it frequently occurred, that, after taking coffee, he retired with the minister to his cabinet, where as much as two and three hours were passed in desultory *tête-à-tête* conversation, chiefly on subjects connected with public works, agriculture, national improvements, the internal administration of Austria and England, and others of a similar character. A sense of propriety on the part of my friend would naturally prevent the introduction of such topics as related to foreign policy; but in all that regarded the internal condition of the empire, as well as of other lands, the prince was always apparently at full leisure to converse—frank, easy, and communicative.



should hardly have been driven better in any part of England. The landscape was in parts diversified with plantations which gave it a very pleasing aspect; and farther in the distance were seen extensive forests, which well contrasted with the open field-land in front of them. Forests form an important source of income to the feudal landlords of Bohemia. Those on the estates of the Prince de Metternich cover seven or eight and twenty thousand English acres; and, perhaps with a primary view to the conveyance of the timber and cuttings to market, he has constructed excellent roads at his own expense, to the extent of thirty English miles. The system of planting adopted from time immemorial in Bohemia is to parcel the ground into divisions for successive cuttings, and which are planted partly with oak and other hard timber-trees, and partly with softer wood. The former are set in at the age of five years, and are cut down only at the age of a hundred years: the softer wood is cleared away at the expiration of thirty years; the ground sown for two years with corn, and then replanted with wood of the same description—and the quantities are generally so arranged, that, in a forest of thirty thousand acres, the annual clearing would be a thousand acres of soft wood, and three hundred and thirty of hard.

We slept at Pilsen, a town of nearly nine thousand inhabitants; and on the following day, after a journey of between sixty and seventy English miles performed in nine hours, including all stoppages, we

entered Prague ; and, having deposited our passports at the entrance, drove first to the Schwartzes Ross, and afterwards to the Drei Linden, the two principal hotels, in the former of which we ultimately took up our quarters.

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## PRAGUE.

Of all the cities in Germany, no one can boast a position or a general aspect so grandly imposing, as the ancient capital of Bohemia. The broad but shallow Moldau acquires, from the damming up of its waters, an artificial dignity of appearance as it flows along, nearly a third of a mile in width ; and from its banks on either side, extending first along the narrow strip of even ground, and thence carried up over rude irregular terrace-like ascents, the buildings of every form, the towers and churches, and palaces and hanging gardens, arise above each other in a sort of amphitheatrical magnificence. How far the interior of the city may be deemed to correspond in interest with its general external effect, is a question which will be differently answered by persons of different tastes and feelings. The streets are generally narrow, dark, and winding ; the principal edifices heavy, massive, and gloomy ; and the private buildings, usually of stuccoed brick, are black with age and dirt ; and, especially in the more ancient districts, are so lofty

as to exclude the light from the avenues between them. On the other hand, there is an air of antiquity and a singularity of architecture about many of the edifices, public and private, in the older quarters, which is greatly pleasing by its variety and quaintness. The principal open places are often surrounded with low heavy arcades, under which are the shops and the entrances to the houses; and beside them are churches or public buildings, exhibiting a fantastic mixture of Gothic and Italian decorations. At each successive turn, the eye is met by some memorial of historical reminiscence; and those who have perused the deeply interesting annals of Bohemia will find in every part abundant food for thoughtful contemplation.

The city is divided into four quarters; of which two, the Altstadt and the Neustadt, are on the right bank of the Moldau; and the others, the Kleinseite and the Hradschin on the left. The Altstadt (old city) was once the whole of Prague. It extends along the margin of the river, and for a considerable space up the ascending ground; and contains the university and the archbishopric, the municipality, the principal churches and public edifices, the theatre, and all the superior shops. It is the district of commerce and general activity, and its narrow streets, and grand open irregular "Place," are crowded with a dense and active population. Beyond the Altstadt, surrounding it on three sides, and separated from it only by a large wide street, termed

the Graben, from its having been formerly the city ditch, is built the Neustadt (new city); the streets of which are much more open and spacious, and are generally rectangular, but the houses are poor, and the inhabitants chiefly mechanics, artisans, and traders of the lower class. It has some very large open spaces, which are used as cattle, corn, and provision markets, and altogether covers a considerably larger space than the Altstadt; but it has scarcely any remarkable buildings, and, from its streets not being paved, and little being seen to move in them beside waggons of corn and hay, or droves of horses or cattle, it has rather the appearance of a huge village or country market-town, than of the portion of an ancient metropolis. At one extremity of the Neustadt, up the river, is the fortress and arsenal of the Wissehrad, erected on a bluff rock, and connected with the line of works which extends in a curve behind the Alt and Neustadt, embracing them both, and descending to the river at each extremity. On the opposite or left bank of the Moldau, the surface of ground is for a small space comparatively even, behind which arises a range of high bold craggy hills. On the even space, and partly up the ascent, is built the third quarter, the Kleinseite (or small side): this is the region of aristocracy; in it are all the palaces of the ancient Bohemian nobles, adorned with gardens and shrubberies which are often seen to extend high up the irregular ascent behind. The lofty ridge above, the Hradschin,

forms a magnificent close to the prospect, as viewed from the bridge below, or from the opposite side of the river. Here, covering the surface of a long bold eminence, the vast palace of the Bohemian kings towers proudly above the buildings of the Kleinseite; and close behind it arise the choir and the tower of the cathedral. Further on, along the hill, are groups of stately edifices; and beyond these again may be seen, on a loftier point, forming an irregular continuation of the Hradschin, the fine Premonstratensian monastery of Strabow, with its lofty towers and dark thick groves overhanging the stream below.

The bridge which connects the Altstadt with the Kleinseite, the only one hitherto constructed within the limits of the city, is the longest bridge in Germany. It is a ponderous structure of stone, seventeen hundred and ninety feet in length, and thirty-five in breadth; with a lofty tower at each extremity, and adorned with colossal statues of stone, single and in groups, among which is pre-eminent that of Saint John Nepomuc, the tutelar saint of the place. From our first entrance on the Bohemian territory, the figure of this much-venerated personage had constantly met our eye; and in vain had our stock of legendary lore been ransacked for the history of one, whose fame seems never to have passed beyond the limits of his own land. In common with a majority perhaps of the local saints in the Romish calendar, he appears to have owed his canonization to his firmness, or obstinacy, in sustaining the authority of the

church against that of the crown. In the fourteenth century, the Bohemian sovereign Wenzel required the restitution of lands said to have been usurped by the clerical powers. The demand was resisted by the archbishop of Prague, and by his subordinate clergy, the greater part of whom escaped by flight from the royal indignation. Not so John of Pomuc (such being the signification of the Bohemian particle *ne*, when prefixed to the name of a place), then coadjutor of the primate. Bound hand and foot, he was cast, by royal order, from the bridge. Flames of miraculous fire marked the spot where the body lay beneath the waters, until it was recovered, free from all taint of corruption; and the honours of martyrdom were conferred on one, whose life may probably have been justly forfeited as a traitor or a rebel. Not far from the bridge, and attached to the Altstadt, is the Judenstadt, a district allotted by law for the residence of the Sons of Jacob. Their number is about eight thousand;—living, as usual, in crowded filthy abodes, forming a labyrinth of narrow winding streets; in traversing which we could hardly imagine that the population around us were really Jews. They have generally, as is likewise the case in Poland and Russia, light-blue eyes and fair complexions; which, although the features be still of the Hebrew form, give an expression to the countenance very dissimilar to that which prevails among their co-religionists of western and southern Europe.

The able administration of the Count de Chotek,

as grand-burggrave, or governor-general, has been eminently valuable to the country in almost every department; and among the objects of national amelioration to which his attention, and that of the government generally, has of late years been steadily directed, few are of greater importance than the improvement of internal communications. It is a singular fact, that although the southern parts of Bohemia are washed by the Danube, and from its northern districts the Elbe flows in one uninterrupted course into the North Sea, yet every bale of Hungarian and Bohemian wool, even (as we learnt from our own experience) every case of Hungarian wine, intended for England, is conveyed by land, on waggons, to Hamburgh. It is only of late years, that the navigation of that upper portion of the Elbe which passes through Bohemia has attracted the attention which its importance demands; and although the quantity of Bohemian products now annually shipped upon it amounts already to nearly fifty thousand tons,\* yet the utility of the river, as a medium of commercial transport for goods of a more

\* I have before me a list of goods shipped in one year on the Elbe; but, as I have it not from an official source, I do not vouch for its correctness, neither am I certain to which one of the last seven or eight years it refers. The imports are stated to be 3500 tons; the goods carried from one place to another within Bohemia, 5000 tons; the exports to countries beyond the Austrian frontier, 35,000. These exports are composed chiefly of the following

valuable character, is in great measure impeded by the difficulty of arriving at its banks. Obstacles of the same description have also intercepted the traffic between the central districts and the Danube; and thus, although the latter river can never rise to the commercial importance which ought to attach to the former, still, of such value as fairly belongs to it, Bohemia has been hitherto in great measure deprived. It is under these circumstances that a series of improvements have been decided on, and in part accomplished, under the direction, and partly by the pecuniary means, of the Prince de Metternich, himself one of the largest Bohemian proprietors, and of the Count de Chotek. A railroad is already open from the Danube, opposite Linz, running northward as far as Budweis. This will be continued to Prague, from whence another line will extend to Pilsen; and, beyond Prague, the communication will be completed to the Elbe, either by the railroad being carried on to its banks, or by such improvements in the course of the Moldau, as will render it navigable at all times down to the junction. Prague will thus become the centre of a most extensive and valuable

items:—wood for building and fuel, 25,000 tons; glass and glass-ware, 1700; coal and charcoal, 1500; barley, fresh and malted, 1500; wheat, 120; clover-seed, 600; bones, 700; straw and straw-wares, 250; mineral water, 60; smalts, 40; oil-cakes, 50; eggs, 50; pot and pearl-ash, 120; and many other articles in small quantities.



commerce : but, even under present circumstances, and with all existing disadvantages, not many cities in Europe can be cited which have of late years made more steady advances in prosperity. Forty years ago the population did not exceed seventy thousand ; it now, including the garrison, which may be reckoned at twelve thousand, amounts to a hundred and twenty thousand. Active and efficient institutions for the encouragement of national industry in every branch, as well as for that of art and science, have been formed by the grand-burggrave, and that eminent patriot the Count de Sternberg. The literary institutions are well organised ; the shops and magazines are well supplied with all descriptions of merchandize ; provisions are remarkably cheap, good, and abundant ; and the population, although not equal in apparent condition to that of some more southern provinces, are generally well clothed, healthy, and thriving.

Still, these successful labours of a wise administration cannot disguise the fact, that Prague is no longer what she once was, the metropolis of a powerful kingdom. The palaces of the Kleinseite are mostly deserted. They are generally large ugly buildings, some however with a good deal of architectural decoration—and the dirty rubbishy appearance of their brick walls, half covered with worn-out stucco, conveys the idea of prisons or poorhouses, rather than of mansions for lofty nobility. Their internal apartments correspond but too well with

the external aspect. We went over many of those which bear the highest names—the Schwartzenberg, the Lobkowitz, the Kinsky, &c. &c.: we found them utterly out of repair; wholly or nearly unfurnished; and occupied only by a few domestics. Their illustrious proprietors have transferred their persons and their wealth to the Austrian capital; leaving to the Bohemians these sad memorials of times, when the court of Prague might have looked with scorn on the inferior splendour of Vienna. Yet in some of these desolate abodes, covered with dust and rubbish, we found immense collections of books. The Lobkowitz library is held to contain more than seventy thousand volumes; the Kinsky, forty thousand; the Klebelsberg, eighteen thousand; the Klam Martinitz, twenty-one thousand; and others, equal or perhaps superior numbers. In some of these palaces, a few rooms are fitted up and occupied during the winter by a minor branch of the family, and in many of them are offices for the stewards and managers of the Bohemian estates: but when, on particular occasions, as for instance at the coronation of a sovereign, it is requisite for the princely proprietors to be themselves at Prague, they usually occupy apartments at some hotel, their own palaces being utterly unfit to receive them. A few exceptions indeed there are to this general emigration. Here and there may be found the mansion of some great noble, who still upholds the local dignity of his ancestors: and below these highest magnates are a considerable body of

resident nobles, inferior in wealth, though perhaps not in blood, who take a part in the provincial administrations, and who form among themselves in the winter season an agreeable and elegant society. Even of the highest nobles, although no longer inhabitants of the Bohemian capital, it cannot be said that they are absentees from the kingdom whence their revenues are derived. A portion of the year is usually passed on their domains; where their mansions and establishments are sustained on a footing of great magnificence, and where they not unfrequently impoverish themselves by that lavish expenditure, which enriches their feudal inferiors around them.

Of the University, the number of its students, and the system of its education, details will be given in a future chapter.\* Its principal ornament is the library, of more than ninety thousand volumes; comprising that which belonged to the suppressed order of Jesuits, together with several other public and private collections. It has few printed books of much rarity: one of these, which might be most fitly cited as such, is a portion of the Aldine Aristotle; and its manuscripts are chiefly curious with reference to local history. Some of them however are of a more general interest, and would afford amusement to the curious traveller who would devote a few forenoons to their examination: especially those liturgical and other religious books which were used in

\* Chapter on Education—Volume II.

the Hussite churches, and which, after lying concealed during the period when that form of worship was prohibited, have reappeared since the enactments of general toleration have been promulgated. Among these, not indeed manuscript, but printed, is a Psalterium of the year 1577, illuminated with a variety of singular miniature paintings. On one of the pages are three such, well and expressively executed: the first exhibits Wickliff, with a flint and iron in his hand, in the act of striking a light; in the next is Huss, lighting a match; and the third completes the series of reform, with Luther bearing aloft a lighted torch. In the *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophiæ*, wherein the name of each graduate is entered by himself, stands the autograph of the great Bohemian reformer. He inscribes himself *Johannes de Hussynis*; and in another hand are appended to it the words "*Sanctissimus Christi Martyr et verus Boemus.*"

To attempt a description of the numerous objects which may well command and fix attention at Prague, would be beside the scope of the present work. Some few only may be briefly mentioned.

The royal palace is a pile of great size, and, from its general mass and elevated position, of very imposing aspect. In point of architectural excellence, however, it has little, either within or without, to excite admiration. It is four and five floors in height, besides attics, and is said to contain four hundred and forty rooms, most of which are small and low. The

building was commenced, in 1333, by Charles IV., but of the ancient fabric, as erected by him or his immediate successors, nothing now remains but three (or as some say four) towers, and a fragment of rooms connected with one of them. The present palace, exclusive of these antique relics, dates from the time of Ferdinand I., but it was completed, about 1756, by Maria Theresa; who, however, in thus conceding a boon to the feelings of her Bohemian subjects, is understood to have been especially anxious that it should not become an instrument to oppose the favourite centralizing policy of her family. She found much already erected, and much more designed, on a scale of great magnificence. This she caused to be destroyed; and, in lieu, constructed the suites of apartments as they now exist, small, dark, and low, with the expressed intention, that the palace should never again become a royal residence. In what may be termed the habitable part, are two suites of apartments only. The one on the first floor had remained unfurnished; until, for the recent coronation, a sum of about 8000*l.* sterling was voted by the provincial states for the painting and decoration of walls, and the purchase of furniture, in order to render it in some degree habitable by the Emperor and his family. The suite on the higher floor was partly furnished, but in most unostentatious style, and was the allotted winter residence of King Charles X., and the other members of the exiled royal family of France. One grand saloon there is, termed the

Spanish Hall, of very large dimensions and of good proportion. But the *interest* attached to this palace is wholly connected with the relics, small as they are, of the more ancient fabric. The chambers above, and the vaults below, are alike connected by tradition with deeds of murder, stratagem and strife. In the "Black Tower" may still be seen the bolts and bars and rings, and the dungeon below dungeon, wherein the feudal chieftains of the middle ages often expiated, by a lingering death, the crime of unsuccessful treason; and, in one of the halls above is shown the window, from whence the imperial ministers Slawata and Martinitz were projected by the hostile nobles, during the fierce religious contentions of 1618. Here is the old low room, wherein the states of Bohemia still hold their assemblies, and where the earlier Kings swore obedience to the constitution and the laws, before they passed across the court to be crowned in the Cathedral. Adjoining is a smaller chamber; and within it, is one still more small, low and vaulted. Its dimensions may be about fourteen feet by eight. This was a prison for naughty kings: and if historical tradition may be credited, one of the earlier sovereigns (one of the Wenzels), was here shut up for six weeks by order of the states, as a punishment for maladministration.

Not far from the palace is the Vaterlandsche Museum, a noble establishment for the cultivation of science, supported wholly by voluntary subscription. Under the kind guidance of Professor Zippe, we in-

spected its various cabinets, which are especially rich in geological and mineralogical specimens of every description connected with Bohemia. Those of the primitive class of rock are here the most abundant and the most varied, and among them are some remarkable specimens of granites intersecting granites, well evincing the progress of successive effusions. The venerable president of the establishment, Count Sternberg, was casually absent, but his usual residence is at Prague, where his ample fortune and high acquirements have principally contributed to the formation and support of this valuable national institution. In one room are the original fossils from which the Count published his *Flora Fossilis*—and attached is a large library, rich in Bohemian history and general literature, as well as works of science and of natural knowledge. Among the books was pointed out to us an *Exemplar* of the *Chronicle of Troy*, printed at Pilsen in 1468. It was the earliest book printed in Bohemia. The professors of the new art, travelling eastward from the Rhine, established themselves first at Pilsen. Two years afterwards they advanced as far as Prague, where the earliest printed books bear the date of 1470.

From this part of the city, a short but pleasing walk along the summit of the ridge conducts to the Premonstratensian Monastery of Strahow, which well repays the trouble of a visit. It is built on the highest point of the high long ridge of hill; and the view over the thickly-wooded descent into the vale

beneath, the majestic Moldau with its bridge of statues, the towers and varied edifices of the Altstadt on the one side, the huge pile of the royal palace high above the gardens and mansions of the Kleinseite on the other, is altogether one of the most beautiful that can be imagined. The monastery itself is large and handsome. The church is rich in decoration, and contains the remains of Saint Norbert, the founder of the order. The library is very extensive. It is contained partly in several large cloistered galleries and some smaller apartments; but the principal room, eighty feet long and thirty-seven high, with a finely-painted dome ceiling, and walls of richly-gilded oak wainscot, is a remarkably handsome and elegant apartment. One of the fathers, who fills the office of librarian, conducted us through the collection with much courtesy, and pointed out many manuscripts locally curious as connected with Bohemian history; and many early printed books, among which were works of St. Thomas Aquinas, printed at Mayence in 1469, full of contractions; and a Testament, printed the subsequent year at Venice, without any contractions whatever;—a contrast rather striking in the juxtaposition (although not otherwise deserving remark), as exhibiting the different style of printing adopted in those two distinguished places at that early period. An object more interesting than either, was the work of Tycho Brahe on astronomy, with a dedication of it to the sovereign in his own writing.



The churches of Prague are chiefly Gothic, and many among them are of spacious size and elegant architecture; but internally they have a dark and heavy appearance, partly from the deficiency of light, partly from the multitude of altars covered with gilding, which has now assumed the dark hue of bronze. The cathedral on the Hradschin would, if finished, be a magnificent edifice; but the choir alone exists, with a lofty tower detached, which, had the plan of the building been carried out, would have stood at the southern extremity of the transept. This fragment of a church, however, contains a variety of splendid and curious objects; and amongst them the gorgeous shrine of St. John Nepomuc, whose sacred tongue is here deposited in a crystal vase. Not far from the cathedral is the remarkable church and monastery of Loretto, a Capucin establishment, now containing only sixteen fathers. It is an endowment of the Lobkowitz family; and in its treasury, which is rich in pious offerings, we were shown a pix, of singular magnificence. From the central case, wherein the host is contained, diverge rays of gold in all directions, covered with diamonds, all of them brilliants apparently of the purest water, some very large and many among them even two-thirds of an inch in length.—The entire number of diamonds in this brilliant case is said to be six thousand six hundred and sixty-six, the whole collected from the pious offerings of the great Bohemian families in the early times. This spot was

then a distinguished place of pilgrimage. In one of its courts may be seen a fac-simile of the holy house of Loretto, identical in every respect, except that the marble material of the external coating in the original has been imitated in a less costly stone. Within is the copy of the black virgin of St. Luke, with the broken plaster and chipped bricks of the little dwelling of Bethlehem, precisely as they exist in Italy; and doubtless the spiritual indulgences imparted at the Bohemian shrine were of no inferior efficacy to those of its prototype in Romagna.—Of the churches in the Altstadt, the Tein-Kirche is the most ancient and remarkable. It exhibits a fine specimen of that sort of cumulative devotion peculiarly prevalent in the Austrian states, which, not content with a full row of altars in the side chapels, adds another range of them at the bases of the pillars which divide the nave from the aisles. The view from the western entrance to the eastern extremity is thus a vista of altars rather than of pillars, the general effect of which is dark and heavy. Among the monuments is that of Tycho Brahe, who died at Prague in 1603. He is represented in relief; habited in a coat of armour, with a sphere in his hand—and around is the legend—“Non fasces nec opes, sola artis sceptrum perennant.”

It was from this church and from the broad open space in front of it, that on the Sunday subsequent to our arrival at Prague, proceeded a most grand and extensive procession. For several previous days the walls had exhibited printed placards, containing

the programme of the ceremonies, and ordering the times and places of rendezvous for the different bodies of which it was to be composed. It was to proceed from the Tein Kirche in the old town, to the cathedral on the Hradschin on the opposite side of the river, where the solemn service was to be performed. Its object was to supplicate the mercy of rain, on a land parched up with long-continued drought. After some time passed in preliminary arrangement, the procession sallied forth. It comprised the archbishop and his suite ; the whole clergy of the city, monastic and parochial ; the ecclesiastical functionaries ; the pupils of the university, and the various schools ; the lay congregations of beneficence ; and general inhabitants, male and female, of the different parishes, to the number of more than ten thousand. Formed into two divisions, it was nearly five hours in passing along. Occasionally chanting some penitential hymn, they slowly traversed the bridge, and wound up the steep ascent to the Hradschin ; each parochial detachment preceded by its clergy and its sacred emblems, and the higher functionaries bearing the crosier, the chalice, and the pix. As they successively approached the cathedral, each detachment chaunted forth the Miserere ; and those for whom space inside the cathedral did not suffice, arranged themselves in the open courts without, while the Bohemian primate performed the services within. Every shop was shut ; business and pleasure were alike suspended. Simultaneous services were cele-

brated for the same object in various other parts of Bohemia. It was a national supplication: and short was the interval, before the anxious fears of those who had sincerely joined in it were converted into joy. The procession commenced and ended under a sky of the purest azure. As the evening drew on, clouds collected—rain fell—it continued during the whole night, and with little intermission through the two succeeding days.

The language of Bohemia, except in a few of the western districts immediately bordering on Saxony, is still that old Slavonic, which, with some variations of dialect, forms likewise the vernacular tongue in Poland, Russia, a large portion of Hungary, the Illyrian provinces, and the northern parts of European Turkey. To abolish this characteristic distinction between the Bohemian and Austrian subjects, was long a favourite object of that policy which has sought to establish an absolute identity of language, laws, and institutions, in all the provinces of the empire: but the religion, the language, and the domestic habits of a people can be changed only by very slow degrees, even in cases where the change can be effected at all; and it not unfrequently happens, that the measures pursued to enforce the alteration, are precisely those which prevent its adoption. In the religious conflicts which followed the atrocious execution of Huss, and the thirty years' war waged by Gustavus Adolphus under the plea of supporting the Protestant cause, the crown of Aus-

tria was indeed triumphant, because the great majority of its subjects, even in Bohemia, were, like itself, opposed to the new opinions; but widely different was its success, when it endeavoured to supplant the language of the nation. In vain were ordinances issued, commanding the exclusive use of the German tongue in all transactions between the public functionaries and the people, in all parochial and districtual concerns, even in the schools of primary and of general instruction. In proportion as this policy was more eagerly pursued, the Bohemians clung with the greater attachment to their ancient dialect, which they justly regarded as the principal remaining badge and guarantee of their distinct nationality. However the highest magnates may have been inclined upon the subject, the great body of resident nobility at all events, the landowners, traders, and men of science, partook the feelings of the people. Their ancient national dislike to the Germans burst forth with unwonted vehemence; and on the occasion of certain royal ordinances issued some years ago, bearing strongly on the point in question, evident indications occurred that the measures proposed, if attempted to be carried into effect, would be forcibly resisted. It was then that the crown, with its usual tact and wisdom, completely changed the course of its policy. It never long forgets, that the strength of its rule depends on the quiet submissive affection of the masses—which however, especially in a feudal country, must in

perhaps a majority of cases be secured through the medium of their superiors. In the introduction of any powerful measure, it will proceed with caution to a certain extent, watching the opinions both of the higher and the lower classes. If one of these be favourable, and the other opposed, it will balance long, and temporize, and seek to conciliate; but if both concur in disapprobation of the measure, it will not risk its popularity and safety, by attempting to persevere. In the present instance, not only were the ordinances abandoned, but the crown seemed to throw itself into the opposite extreme. An official patronage was afforded to the popular dialect, which it had not enjoyed before. Societies have been formed under the immediate patronage of the grand-burggrave and the direction of Count Sternberg, for the cultivation of Bohemian literature; and plays are performed in the Bohemian language, at the theatre of Prague.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Visit to the exiled Royal Family of France—Duke de Bordeaux—  
Duchess d'Angoulême—Charles X.—Carlists and Henriquists  
—Education and prospects of the Duke de Bordeaux.

AT the period to which I am now referring, the exiled royal family of France were still at Teplitz, where they had been passing some weeks, but were expected to return almost immediately to Prague; and our own departure from that city was retarded for a couple of days, in order to afford me the opportunity of seeing once again the youthful Duke of Bordeaux. In the period preceding the revolution of the three days, I had seen much of this young prince at the Tuilleries, through the indulgence of my greatly-valued and respected friend the Baron de Damas, who, after successively filling the office of Minister at War and Minister for Foreign Affairs, had been promoted to the more elevated, though probably far less agreeable, post of Governor of the heir-apparent. My curiosity had been frequently gratified in being present at his lessons, and observing the mode and character of the instruction he

received. Several times I had been as it were his guest, when, as a mark of approbation, he had been permitted to take his place at the dinner-table with his governor, and to do the honours of some easy dish; more frequently I had seen him in the evenings, when, with his sister and a few associates of his own age, a game of blind-man's-buff or some such amusement in the saloon filled up an hour or two before the time of rest arrived. In those days he was surrounded with the splendour of royalty; and, young as he was, could not be insensible of that general homage, which, in spite of what I believe to have been the wishes of his governor, was lavished on him who was marked to fill the throne of Saint Louis. Times had now fearfully changed:—he had become an exile on a foreign soil:—circumstances over which he had no control, and political sins and follies in which he was too young to bear a part, had blasted the hopes of his youth, and cast him forth from the land which in the regular course of events he had seemed destined to rule. There is, I believe, inherent in our nature, a sentiment which excites in us an interest for those, whom we have known and played with and caressed, in their fresh and happy days of early youth. It is a sentiment uninfluenced by differences of rank and station, and unconnected with judgment or reflection. It is a purely personal feeling; and, should those fresh and happy days have been blasted by the storms of adversity, the feeling



itself will probably be augmented, whatsoever be the decision of the judgment on the causes from whence the adversity has arisen.

In answer to the inquiries which I addressed in the proper quarter, it was now communicated to me that the Royal Family would return on a certain day from Teplitz ; not indeed to Prague, but to the château of Puschtierad (about thirteen English miles from that city), which they had taken as a country residence ; and where, in order to cause me as little detention as possible, they would receive my visit on the morning after their arrival. Puschtierad is a valuable domain belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but its value consists in the abundance of its products, not in its natural beauty or artificial decoration. The country around is cheerless and bare of trees. The rude shrubberies immediately near it can hardly be dignified with the name of pleasure-grounds ; and the château itself is a large long building of two stories in height, generally of one room only in depth, with all the windows fronting the north, and the doors opening into corridors which on the southern side run along the whole extent of the façade. On arriving there, I found on the doors of each room along the corridors, except those immediately occupied by the royal personages, cards affixed with the names of their respective tenants. No attendant appeared about the passages, or the rooms within, or the courts without—all was

still and silent, and gave the idea of a monastery rather than a palace.

In this gloomy and cheerless dwelling, which seemed to harmonize too faithfully with the fortunes of its present inhabitants, were now assembled the old King Charles X., the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, Mademoiselle, and the Duke de Bordeaux; together with a few attached adherents, who still followed the fortunes, and formed the little court, of him whom they regarded as their lawful sovereign. The Cardinal de Latil had lately taken his departure for Rome. The Baron de Damas and the Duchess de Gontaut who had directed the education of the prince and princess, had been compelled by circumstances of a peculiar and painful nature, to quit their charge, and had retired into France. Some others who were properly members of the establishment, were absent in other parts; and those now at Puschtierad were the Duke de Blacas, the Duke de Polignac, the Count O'Hegerty, the Abbé Fraissinous, M. de Barante, the Countess d'Agoult, and one or two other ladies in attendance on the Duchess d'Angoulême and Mademoiselle. My first visit was to the young duke, who was now in his fifteenth year. When I had seen him at Paris, and afterwards immediately on his arrival at Lulworth, he was of slim and delicate form, full of vivacity, but, in appearance at least, of rather doubtful health. I now found him a fine stout healthy youth, with

the Bourbon features strongly marked, and a clear ruddy complexion. He was by no means tall for his age ; but his figure was broad and thick-set, and gave indications that, in this respect, he would rather resemble his father than his grandfather. On his intellectual powers, our interview was too short and too constrained to allow me to form any accurate judgment ; for that frank and free communication which I might have expected under the high authority of M. de Damas was not permitted by the gentleman now acting as his tutor, who remained by his side during the whole of my visit, and to whom I was personally a perfect stranger. The young prince expressed pleasure at seeing me, although it is not very probable that at his age he would have remembered with any distinctness the smaller circumstances which had occurred several years before ; but it appeared to me, from some indications, that he felt a painful consciousness of the change of his condition, and of the altered circumstances under which he was now placed.\* Be this as it may, the tutor

\* During the residence at Edinburgh, he accompanied the Baron de Damas in a tour through some parts of Scotland, visiting, as ordinary travellers, the various objects of interest. At some noble mansion, I think at Taymouth, a book was laid before them, ruled with two columns, in the first of which strangers were requested to write their names, and in the second their stations or professions. The Prince wrote only "Henri de Bourbon." The Baron, in joke, said he ought to fill up the other column. He took up the pen and immediately added the word "Vagabond."

seemed decidedly desirous to repress rather than to encourage his observations, by interfering to assume the conversation to himself; and thus leaving me little more than the opportunity of forming a general opinion, that he was altogether a fine and promising boy. In the Duchess d'Angoulême, to whose apartments I next proceeded, I saw little change. She was suffering from a severe cold, but otherwise her health was good; and to say that her general tone was melancholy and dejected, is only to say that she was, in the exile of Puschierad, what she had been in her brightest hours at Paris. She spoke much of her nephew, of his clearness of intellect, and his close application to his studies—but without the expression of any sanguine expectations of the future; and, indeed, the sad retrospect of her own past life would afford little encouragement for the illusions of hope. However opinions may differ as to this princess, with reference to the political tendencies of her character, it is impossible to reflect on the sorrows of her life without a sentiment of deep compassion. After a childhood of royal splendour, her earliest remembrances are those of the prison and the scaffold. She saw her parents led forth to public execution—she was herself conveyed from the cells of the Temple to pass twenty years in exile, little alleviated by domestic happiness. Her very entrance into Paris after this protracted banishment was rendered to her a period of anguish; for, by some unfortunate arrangement, she was made to

pass over the site of the very prison where herself and her parents had been immured; and I well remember (for I was a spectator of the scene) the agitated and almost convulsive expression of her countenance, during the celebration of the *Te Deum* at Notre Dame, which preceded her approach to the Tuileries. Short was the interval after she had resumed her position in the palace of her ancestors, ere she was again driven forth into foreign exile; and I now beheld her, after her third emigration, in the dreary monastic solitude of Puschtierad. Her main support here was that strong and deep religious fervour, which during the short period of her prosperity may have been sometimes lamented as excessive, but in which she now found a firm and unfailling consolation.

Strongly contrasted with the appearance and demeanour of this unhappy princess, were those of the aged monarch. I was introduced into his apartment by the Duke de Blacas, and was honoured with a very long and agreeable interview. His tall thin figure looked even more lank than in former days, owing to the long brown frock, or rather great coat, in which he was arrayed, which closed tight round his slender form, and descended to his heels. He stooped much; but otherwise, although now in his seventy-eighth year, he showed little marks of age, and his countenance and manner were lively and animated. Charles X. was still, as he had ever been, a fine specimen of the old French gentleman—

kind and familiar in his address, polished but easy in his manner, and gay in the midst of adversity. With him, was neither restraint nor melancholy; and, as he chatted familiarly of France and Spain and England, of the events of his own past life, and of the fortunes which he trusted might hereafter beam upon his house, I am willing to hope that he may have derived a momentary satisfaction from the visit of disinterested respect thus paid to him by one, who, however comparatively lowly in station, and however discordant from him in many important points of opinion, still retained a grateful remembrance of the kindnesses and hospitalities received within the walls of his palace, during the days of his royal domination. The French volatility, with which he passed rapidly from subject to subject, was sometimes tempered with a feeling, not mournful but pensive, with which he alluded to his own advanced age, and the doubtful expectations he entertained (for he seemed not wholly bereft of hope) of another restoration for himself. His anticipations in favour of his grandson were expressed in more sanguine terms. He spoke of him with much affection; and said that the great object of himself and his family was to render the young prince worthy of any destinies that might await him. His favourable reception in England, and the attentions shown to him in Scotland, were subjects on which he evidently liked to enlarge, for he recurred to them more than once. He was full of anecdote as to the events of his residence at Holyrood, in the first

emigration, and some of them were singular enough : but the circumstances on which he dwelt with most evident satisfaction were those of his favourable reception at Poole and other parts of Dorsetshire, on his last arrival from France ; in all of which he had been made to apprehend that he would have met with insult and outrage. His political observations on individuals and parties in the different countries of Europe, would perhaps be of little interest to the reader ; but, whether such were the case or not, I cannot permit to myself the publication of opinions and feelings, however in themselves unimportant, expressed in a casual interview by an exiled king. I will only observe, that, in speaking of the existing rulers of France, no unkind expression escaped his lips ; and that a sentiment of compassion only, not of anger, appeared to exist in his mind towards those who had been his subjects. More than once I made my half inclination to depart, but the good-natured old sovereign was so full of vivacity, that he still prolonged the interview ; and I believe it was owing to some suggestion of the Duke de Blacas, who had, during the whole time, remained in silence near the royal person, that I ultimately received my dismissal.

Charles X. was still in possession of great bodily power, and every autumn enjoyed the pleasures of “*la Chasse*” on the domains of certain high Bohemian nobles, with all the relish, and almost all the vigour, of his early years. His confidential friend and principal counsellor was the Duke de Blacas—a

nobleman of great wealth and large possessions both in France and Germany, and who sacrificed the pleasures and the luxuries of life, to attend on the person of his former sovereign. As the Duke was minister of a kingdom bounded by a garden-wall, so Count O'Hegerty was grand master of the horse to a prince without a stud. The royal establishments were on the most limited scale. The servants were very few; the carriages were hired when required; and of horses, Charles X. was possessor of two only, which were kept for the exercise of the Duke de Bordeaux. Yet was this little court said to be divided into parties, and distracted with animosities and factions. It is a subject on which, had it come to my knowledge from personal observations made during my intercourse with the parties concerned, I should not have felt myself at liberty to enlarge; but there can be no breach of confidence in stating facts which were notorious both in Germany and in France, and which were communicated to me from various indifferent quarters. It will excite a smile of pity in the reader to learn that now, when the sovereign rule of France had passed away to another dynasty, the question most fiercely agitated by the adherents of the exiled princes was, which among them was the legitimate king. Previous to the departure from St. Cloud, the old sovereign, in the hope of averting the necessity to emigrate, had, conjointly with the Duke d'Angoulême, signed an act of abdication in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux; in whose name, under the title



of Henry V., certain proclamations were accordingly issued. After the whole family had quitted France, Charles was persuaded by his religious advisers to consider this act, extorted by circumstances, as null and void ; and, although it is believed that he had not the slightest personal wish to return to the throne, yet a feeling was enforced upon him, that he could not lawfully divest himself of the sovereignty, or transfer to another the duties which he owed to his people. The question raised upon this point, however apparently ridiculous, was not devoid of political importance. The legitimist party, the adherents of the exiled family, were still strong and numerous in France ; and of these the large majority would have openly acted (with what success it is in vain now to inquire) for the restoration of Henry V., but they felt that any such attempt in favour of Charles, must, from the great unpopularity of his last measures, be wholly unavailing. These, therefore, with the Duchess de Berri at their head, entreated from Charles a frank repetition of his act of abdication ; but with this request, Charles, on alleged religious grounds, peremptorily and ever after constantly refused to comply. Hence the efforts of the legitimists were divided, and in great measure paralysed. Among a large proportion of them, the doctrine of allegiance to divine right prevented their acknowledgment of Henry, while Charles maintained his pretensions ; and yet all felt alike that any attempt in favour of Charles himself would be a vain and fruitless effort. The

Carlists and the Henriquists became two distinct and opposing parties; and their divisions may probably have been aggravated by the personal unkindness existing between the Duchess d'Angoulême and the Duchess de Berri, who were considered the respective leaders of each. The one was cold and dignified, severely correct, and almost morosely religious—the other, kind and familiar, indulgent to herself and others, fond of pleasure, gay, volatile, and ardent. Both were persons endowed with high and resolute courage: but in the one this quality was exhibited in stern unflinching endurance—in the other, in daring, heedless, almost heroic enterprise. Her romantic expedition into France was unsanctioned by Charles;—and the want of his approval she severely felt, since it deprived her of the powerful co-operation of those, whose principles restrained them from proclaiming the royalty of Henry. Many of the most influential amongst them were at this period so sanguine, as to believe that Charles himself was the sole impediment to the restoration of the family; but, however deeply they deplored what appeared to them his desperate infatuation, their principles would not allow them to move in favour of a prince, who, close as he was to the throne, would be still in their eyes a lawless usurper, while the aged monarch lived. On the return of the Duchess to Germany, after her surrender in Brittany, her confinement at Blaye, and her short visit to the dominions of her brother, she renewed with increased vehemence the endeavours she had formerly

made to obtain possession of her son. She insisted on her natural right of guardianship; and contended that the laws of France, which conferred that right on the chief of the monarchy, had ceased to be valid when the monarch was no longer on his throne, and all were reduced to an equality of exile. The opposite doctrine was, however, so strongly maintained by those who had possession of the young prince, that she was refused all intercourse with him, personal or epistolary; and the palace of Prague, the habitual residence of Charles, was the scene of furious altercations, when the mother has sometimes paid sudden and unexpected visits to the abode of her son, and on one occasion is said to have forced her way into his apartment. These collisions were terminated by the interference of the Austrian government, who probably cared nothing for the matter in dispute, and offered no judgment upon it; but, simply determining to keep the peace, assigned to the Duchess de Berri a distant residence, from which she might not remove. Her spirit however was active, while her person was still. No sooner did Charles engage a journal in the south of France, to advocate his rights, than she purchased the aid of another, to defend the claims of her son. From Prague and Grätz, a sort of counter-correspondence was carried on with France; and to so great a height did the feuds extend around the persons of the older and younger king, that, if public report be true, persons of their respective suites actually refused to sit at table with each other. In the

midst of this turmoil, Charles ever preserved his tranquil serenity. He was hostile to any violent attempt at counter-revolution. He had persuaded himself that his restoration would be the work of Providence alone; and daily, as the *Moniteur* arrived, he unfolded it with something like a hope, that it would contain an ordinance or an act of the Chambers, calling him back to his throne!

Charles is numbered with the dead. The Duke d'Angoulême has long since ceased to be of any political or even personal importance. Somewhat of greater interest may attach to the Duke of Bordeaux—and I regret my inability to form correct ideas of the influence which circumstances may have had in the formation of his character. At Paris his education, under the government of M. de Damas, was in my opinion ably and judiciously directed.\* M.

\* Four hours of the forenoon, with breaks of a quarter of an hour each, were devoted to instruction in history, languages ancient and modern, arithmetic, and other matters, which, as far as possible, was conveyed by oral precept without the use of books; and, seated on his high chair at the table, with a broad black board before him, whereon were traced such delineations as would tend to elucidate the oral explanations, he often evinced an acuteness and precocity of mind and memory, which I should not have expected from a boy at his years. His various teachers were of course the most able that Paris could afford, and his apartment contained cases of every kind of armour and weapon illustrative of history, and models and patterns to elucidate whatsoever else might be the subject of his studies. After his dejeuner at one o'clock, which served usually for his dinner, he was generally taken to one of the villas, a few miles from Paris, where he learnt

de Damas remained with his royal charge during the residence at Lulworth and Edinburgh, and for some time afterwards at Prague. On his resignation, the post was accepted by the Marquis de Latour Maubourg, a high and distinguished officer and excellent man ; but he held it only for a few months. M. de Chateaubriand next arrived at Prague with a view of succeeding to the vacant post, but, upon ascertaining its nature on the spot, he, as was understood, declined to act ; and M. de Saint Chamas, the nominal governor when we were at Puschtierad, was then absent, and it was very doubtful if he would return. Of the real circumstances attendant on these repeated changes, I received no certain information, and am unwilling to offer my own conjectures. I know that the high feeling of the Baron de Damas struggled long against great opposing difficulties (whatsoever those difficulties might be) before he would admit to himself the necessity of his withdrawal from duties, which, with satisfaction to himself, he could not perform ; and, from the manner in which the Duchess d'Angoulême spoke to me of him, I rejoice at any rate that he still retains the respectful esteem of those, who may have long reason to lament his departure. I greatly fear

riding, swimming, fencing, &c., and joined with other youths in active bodily exercises ; and in the evening he was sometimes with the King, but usually occupied in amusements with his sister, or with M. and Mme. de Damas, and those who came in to make their evening visits.

that a system of education may have been insisted on, too confined and monastic in character, to meet the views of those able men, who would have wished to train him in a different manner. At Prague, which was, until the death of Charles, the usual residence of the family, they kept up courtly etiquettes which were cumbrous to themselves, and disagreeable to the noble Bohemian residents, who thus abstained, with one or two exceptions, from visiting at the palace. They lived in a strict retirement, of which the Duke de Bordeaux was the victim. Royal and religious usages prevented his intermixing in society with those who might enlarge his mind; and for him to enter into the common amusements of the world, would, as it was told, have been deemed an impropriety. He rode on horseback daily with Count O'Hegerty; but he had no young companions; none of those social excitements which are proper to the season of youth; and which sharpen the intellect, excite the animal spirits, and give tone and vigour to the character. Many considerations were alleged as palliations for this system of seclusion; and among others was one of a painful nature—the justly-founded fear of attempts at assassination; but, as the Prince has now advanced towards manhood, it may be hoped and believed, that, before it were too late, he will have been thrown more into the world around him, and have received a fuller development of those talents, which, judging from what I knew of him in earlier years, I believe him to possess.

## CHAPTER V.

Leave Prague—Further observations on Bohemia—Enter Upper Austria—Linz—Salzburg—Appearance of the Country—Description of the City, and state of its Inhabitants—Journey to Gastein—Salt-works of Hallein—Falls of Golling—Pass of Lueg—Gastein—Grand scenery—Vales of the Alps—Elevated plain of Naasfeld—Vale of Böckstein—Gold-mines and works—Population and condition, past and present—Geological observations on the Valley of the Salzach.

As our object was on the present occasion to proceed in the direction of Salzburg, we followed the high Vienna road from Prague, only one stage beyond the town of Tabor, and thence proceeded southward to Linz, by Budweis and Freystadt; the former of which two is a considerable place of seven thousand inhabitants, and will derive great advantage ere long from the railroad which is already completed thus far from the Danube, and is intended to be carried on to Prague. The whole distance from Prague to Linz is about one hundred and fifty English miles. With the exception of one stage, we were excellently driven; and not only at the towns I have mentioned, but at the large villages also, where the relays are stationed, we found inns in which unfastidious travellers would find accommodation in case of need.

The soil, or rather its substratum, is chiefly of granite and gneiss, (wherein quartz appeared the most abundant material) formed into hills finely ornamented with wood. Nearly the whole of the way the country is very picturesque, and improves as we descend southwards; the slopes of the hills being generally covered with corn-fields, interspersed with trees in groups and lines. Shortly before our arrival at Frey-stadt, we entered the province of Upper Austria; and, after traversing a range of lofty granite hills, up and down for thirty English miles, amid rich park-like scenery on either side, we passed down by a tremendously long and steep descent from their lofty summits into the vale of the Danube. As we wound along the lower slopes of this great range, we were much reminded of some of the richest parts of England—swelling hills, covered with small enclosures, most of them verdant with grass or clover, and the divisions formed of green hedges with a great luxuriance of trees. Rural cottages, too, were interspersed among them, decorated with trellises of rose and jasmin. We were reminded of the scenery between Taunton and Sidmouth, and of that which delights the eye from the hills of Malvern, but we agreed that both the one and the other must yield, in comparison, to the richness and beauty of the Austrian landscape.

Linz is to me a city of most pleasing recollections; and, although it may not be usually safe to do so, I



will venture to transcribe verbatim from my notebook a portion of the remarks I made there, on the spot, upon a Sunday evening in September.

“The descent from the mountains of Bohemia seems to have brought us into Italy. This beautiful city has nothing of Germany in it, except its language. The houses, all handsome and lofty, are stuccoed and painted, chiefly white, but many yellow or light brown. Almost all have architectural decorations and columns, and friezes over the windows; and, outside, Venetian blinds as protections against the heat. Balconies with flowers salute the eye at every turn; and not only on the broad spacious ‘Place,’ but in the back streets also, the houses are lofty and elegant, and all look as clean and white and fresh, as if just newly decorated and painted. We are sensible here of a decided change in the atmosphere. The sky is cloudless; the heat not oppressive; and there is a peculiar soft balminess in the air, which we have not found elsewhere. We are both sensible of it. We are in Italy. All has a bright sunny appearance and feeling. The people, too, are handsome, and well clothed, and look happy. This is Sunday;—the churches have been crowded;—the shops all shut;—the people all in their clean holiday attire;—and nowhere since we left England have we seen a Sunday so well observed. We have here all the religious observance, all the happy repose of the Sabbath. We went up to a green summit just without the city; and, extended on the

grass, gazed on the Danube beneath. To the right and to the left were two beauteous winding reaches of the noble river, flowing between high green hills. Just below us was the city, with its bright white houses, and roofs of dark brown wooden shingle; and its handsome churches, with bright gilded crosses, and some gilded cupolas, glittering in the sun. Then the long wooden bridge across the river; and beyond it the range of hills covered with green and yellow enclosures, most richly wooded with trees in groups and lines; and bright white buildings, shining forth amid the thick dark foliage. It was a scene to gladden the heart of man, and to make him pour forth his gratitude to the Author of all good. It is long since I have felt myself so tranquilly happy, I may say so devout, so grateful for the unmerited blessings I enjoy, as I do in this first city of Upper Austria. Linz is said by the books to be celebrated for the beauty of the women; and, as far as I can judge, justly. In the afternoon we walked for a few miles up the banks of the river. It is broad and shallow, but flows with considerable rapidity. We saw rafts of timber similar to those on the Rhine, but not so long; and likewise large barges of wood for firing, mostly destined for Vienna. The current of the river seems to be through a cleft of gneiss, which on the right bank forms a bold nearly perpendicular range, covered with trees, from among which the bare rock is occasionally seen to break out; and in some parts it is quarried for the

paviour and the builder. It is a compound of nearly all mica and quartz ; a great deal of the former, and in large crystals ; with very little felspar. As we strolled back along the banks of the river, the evening closed in upon us ; and *such* an evening, in *such* a place ;—the air so soft and balmy, and all so tranquil and beautiful around. We passed several family groups—parents with their children—returning to the city after their Sunday evening walk. We stopped for a moment at the door of a little dwelling with a garden beside it. Its inmates were singing in chorus an evening hymn. We then returned to our own comfortable quarters at the Golden Lion, to end one of the most pleasing days I ever remember to have passed.”

Every traveller knows how much he is the creature of casual circumstances in the opinions he forms of the places he cursorily visits ; and I offer the preceding extract rather as evincing my own impressions, than as wishing to imply that such would be necessarily received by others. Still all will admit that Linz is a most pleasing city, although it may not possess many remarkable buildings. The churches are generally handsome ; many of them very richly gilded, and adorned with good paintings ; and (whether it arises from a greater purity of atmosphere I know not) the gildings and the colours within, like the exteriors of the houses, have a peculiar freshness of appearance. In the Lyceum courses of lectures are given in the three faculties, of theology, philo-

sophy, and medicine; and the library attached to it contains, it is said, about forty-four thousand volumes, including some hundred incunabula, and a large collection of Roman Catholic theology; but, as it appeared to us, little of modern literature. Its reading-room is open to all the town, and books are allowed to be taken out under certain regulations. The present population of Linz is about twenty-four thousand. It is the place of shipment on the Danube for the wood, the salt, and other products of Upper Austria and the Salzburg territory, intended for Vienna; and its commercial prosperity will be enhanced by the two railroads which reach the river in the vicinity of the town. The one on the northern bank is now, as I have before mentioned, open as far as Budweis, and is projected to extend to Prague, whence the Moldau descends into the Elbe. The other, on the southern side, will traverse the Salzkammergut, and will, if funds and enterprise be not wanting, be carried on with branches through Styria and Carniola, to connect the Danube with the Adriatic.

The distance from Linz to Salzburg is eighteen Austrian, or rather more than eighty English, miles—a journey which, as we commenced it, according to our usual habit, rather late in the morning, we divided by sleeping at Vöklabruck. The country in the more immediate vicinity of Linz is highly beautiful; diversified with hill and dale, woodland, pasture, and corn-field; neat cottages, and small

enclosures. It presented a great contrast with Bohemia, from the number of villages and single houses, all white, and shining forth from among the multitude of trees ; and beyond this beauteous foreground we soon perceived the distant chain of the Salzkammergut mountains, covered with snow, and grandly closing the scene. As we advanced, we saw less of arable land, and more of pasture ; but the whole of the country we traversed was, at this time, generally green, either with grass and clover, or with the weeds which remained in the stubble. The posts, I apprehend, are rather scantily provided with horses. We were detained some time at Lambach ; but we felt little disposed to lament the detention, as we wiled away the time on a small rocky projection near the post-house, gazing on the Traun which flowed in a deep channel below, and the spacious Benedictine monastery on an eminence above it, and the curious church of Baura in the distance beyond. Hitherto we had followed the course of the Traun nearly all the way from Linz ; and we should have done so still, for some farther distance, had we taken the road which branches off at Lambach to Gmunden and Ischel and the beautiful region of the Salzkammergut. Our course was now in a different direction ; and, after passing Vöklabruck, (indeed partly before arriving there,) we commenced ascending a high and romantic region. As we proceeded, the mountains rose before us with increasing grandeur—the woods were all of pine—the air cold and sharp

—the cottages constructed of dark wood, with windows few and deep and small, and rows of large stones along the high projecting shingle roofs, to preserve their position against the fury of the winds. All attested that we had quitted the climate of the Danube, and were at the threshold of the Austrian Highlands; and I observed with regret, that in these hilly regions of Upper Austria, where the properties are small and divided, and feudal robots and services have ceased, the habitations of man were far more slovenly and in worse repair, than we had ever observed them in Bohemia. A succession of grand views met our eye as we travelled onward, until at length we descended from the heights into the small rich plain of Salzburg, green and wooded like a park, and speckled with detached white houses, each adorned with shrubberies—while all around it towered aloft a band of craggy insulated mountains, standing like a circle of giants to guard an enchanted land.

The towns we had traversed between Linz and Salzburg, were composed of large, high, gloomy-looking houses, generally white, and somewhat architecturally decorated; and the traffic on the road must be immense, for in no country have I seen such a continuity of inns. Vöklabruck, Frankenmarkt, Neumarkt, and the other places we passed, were absolutely full of them; and I apprehend that at each of the relays might be found very decent accommodation, as we experienced ourselves at Vöklabruck. This is the great road of trade between the Danube and the Tyrol, and

thus, to a certain degree, forms the communication between Vienna and the Northern Milanese. It would probably be still more used than it is, were it not for the great political evil of its passing through a portion of the Bavarian territory, between Innsbruck and Salzburg; and the opportunity thus afforded to a foreign government, of inflicting obstructions and expenses on Austrian internal commerce. At the Congress of Vienna it was much desired by the imperial cabinet, that the Inn, which is an Austrian river in its course through Tyrol, and then becomes Bavarian until it falls into the Danube at Passau, should have been rendered the general boundary of the two states—an arrangement which would have afforded a continuity of communication, both by water and land, between the two divisions of Austrian territory; but to such an arrangement Bavaria would not consent, and her resistance was successful. As matters now stand, it appears almost impossible to devise a remedy for this great acknowledged evil. A very light carriage may, indeed, pass from Innsbruck to Salzburg, through the defiles of the Pongau and the valley of the Salzach, and thus continue the whole way on the Austrian soil; but to construct a road for merchandise amid those wild mountain-passes, would be a work of almost insuperable difficulty and expense.

We left Vöklabruck between nine and ten, and reached Salzburg in about five hours. It was the Nativity of the Virgin—one of the highest festivals of the Romish church. In every place we passed,

the people were in their holiday attire ; and for the first two miles of our day's journey, the road was covered with the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, mostly with their books in their hands, proceeding to adore at a shrine of peculiar holiness just without the town. They were a coarse, hard-featured, but not otherwise ill-looking population ; and the costume of the females, if not very graceful, was at least peculiar and picturesque.—Its prevailing colours were black and red : most of them had black silk aprons, over red or black jackets and skirts—black silk handkerchiefs bound tight around the whole head, and above these large man's hats of white felt. As we approached Salzburg the white hat disappeared, and was replaced by one of broad dimensions, black and glazed, the rim of which was lined below with scarlet or some other bright colour, and this was worn next the hair, without the intervening handkerchief. The men had usually blue cloth jackets, tight pantaloons of black leather, and high boots over them. Within the city every shop was shut—and beyond the walls, every garden, almost every clump of trees by the way-side, exhibited groups of quiet happy-looking people, men, women and children, enjoying, with light thin beer and idleness, the repose of the festive day. Very few of the females here wore the hat which I have mentioned. The hair, neatly arranged, was the only ornament of the head ; but here and there might be seen, as we had observed sometimes both at Linz



and on the road, a glittering head-dress of bright gold tissue, which, lying flat on the fore part of the head, rose with a concave sweep over the high comb and knot of hair behind, somewhat resembling in form the shell of the nautilus. It is a gala-dress of the villagers, and formed a gorgeous contrast with the simplicity around.

The beauty of its environs may well attract the stranger to pass some time at Salzburg, during the brightness of the summer season; but when the weather is cold and rainy, as we experienced it during the first two days after our arrival, few places can be more cheerless and desolate. Its elevation is fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the blasts from the snow-clad mountains around made us painfully feel that we were no longer in the Italy of Linz. The large lofty white stone houses, with their low arched basements, and the huge archiepiscopal palace among them, now chiefly occupied by government offices, give it rather a gloomy than a grand appearance; and, although the commercial traffic through it is very considerable, it everywhere exhibits symptoms of decay. The archbishopric was not secularised until the year 1802—and much of the current coin still bears the effigy of the former prince primate of the empire; but, from the time when the territory ceased to be a sovereign principality, its capital has gradually declined. The university is reduced to a lyceum of two faculties, medicine and jurisprudence:—the central mining

establishment for this and the adjacent provinces has been removed into the Tyrol, so that in this capital of a most interesting country, it would, as I was informed, be nearly vain to inquire for a geologist:— and the population, less than twelve thousand, has of late been scarcely on the increase. The city is intersected by the Salzach, which flows impetuously through it between two masses of rock, at the base and on the slopes of which the streets are constructed; and on a lofty point, commanding the town and the country around, stands the ancient feudal castle, now used only as a barrack, but in former times a place of strength and of refuge for many a mitred sovereign. It is a grand and imposing object; and its gloomy recesses contain some historical memorials of considerable interest. The hills around are partly of a marly conglomerate, but chiefly of soft green sandstone, which has been in many parts curiously excavated and cut away, to aid the strength of the fortifications.

The monasteries are still numerous, but, under the reforming system of the Austrian government, the number of their inmates is much reduced. The Benedictine house of St. Peter's is the richest among them: there is said to be a good library and a museum, neither of which we were able to see, as the fathers, nineteen in number, were all of them absent excepting two, and neither of them had the keys. These sensible recluses pass a portion of every summer at a country residence or monastery

among the hills. Some of them take the opportunity to pay visits to their friends and relatives, and, at the present period, the prior of St. Peter's was at the neighbouring watering-place of Berchtesgaden, enjoying, no doubt, its social recreations as well as the splendour of its scenery. Their cemetery is remarkable and elegant,—adorned around with rich and ancient monuments, and the central part forming a garden of flowers and holy devices;—and here is a small but curious chapel of the fourteenth century, of rich Gothic architecture, dedicated to Saint Rupert, the earliest bishop of Salzburg. The cathedral is a modern work of Roman architecture, built on the general plan of St. Peter's at Rome; and is spacious and imposing internally, although devoid of all external beauty. The other churches are all Gothic; exceedingly decorated, and the gildings and paintings generally very fresh to the eye. In that of the Benedictines before-mentioned, is the monument of Haydn—and a singular one it is. A mass of rough stone in relief represents a natural rock covered with moss;—it is strewed with loose leaves or books in marble, bearing the titles of the principal works of the composer;—behind these is seen on the rock a small oblong mausoleum, bearing a black slab with this simple inscription: “*Michaeli Haydn, nato die 14 Sept. 1737: vitâ functo die 10 Aug. 1806.*” This monument has been severely criticised. To me it appeared in good taste, and very pleasing. It is simply expressive; and the noblest epitaph which

admiration could indite on the great composer, is found in the titles of the works which lie strewed about upon the rock.

In the church of St. Sebastian repose the ashes of the great Paracelsus, who, as a *modern* addition to his monument expresses it, “*tantam orbis famam ex auro chymico adeptus est.*” The more *ancient* inscription, coeval probably with his decease, makes no mention of his expertness in alchymy, but lauds him as a great and learned physician, “*qui dira illa vulnera, podagram, leprosin, hydropisin, aliaque insanabilia corporis contagia mirifica arte sustulit.*” This eminent physician and natural philosopher lived and died at Salzburg; and the front of the house where he breathed his last in 1541 bears a spirited portrait of him sculptured on the wall.

Dull and gloomy as is this ancient city, a few days may be passed agreeably within its walls in tracing the various localities connected with its former splendor. Even its heavy character of architecture has something in it solemn and imposing. We were at the Trinkstube\*, a very good hotel, and which, as forming a fair specimen of the general style of building, may deserve a short description. It was a heavy pile of masonry, five stories in height, and composed of walls, floorings, and internal divisions, from the basement to the roof, entirely of stone. The ground floor consisted of a series of low vaulted

\* Its name has been since changed to the “Erzherzog Karl.”

prison-like offices, above which was a story of tolerably sized rooms with small deep windows, and rather low flat ceilings. Ascending to the second floor, we seemed to have arrived, by a sort of inverted progress, at the crypt of an ancient church. The whole central part of the building here formed a huge damp dark hall, sixty feet long, by twenty-five wide, with a central and two side ranges of short thick pillars of reddish marble, resting on the stone pavement below, and supporting a low vaulted stone ceiling above. From this hall opened various bed-rooms; and on one side of it a continuation of the stone staircase led to another floor of bed-rooms above, separated from the roof by a range of attics.—Such are the houses of Salzburg. The sovereignty of this antique city has passed away. Its wealth and luxury exist no longer. Its noblest inhabitants have gone forth into other lands, but its edifices seem destined to last for eternity.

On leaving Salzburg, the traveller may either proceed at once to Ischel and to Salzkammergut, or first make an excursion to the baths of Gastein, distant about eighty English miles towards the south, in the chain of the Noric Alps. Ours was the latter course, and, as we had anticipated, we found it replete with interest and enjoyment.

For the first sixty miles the road follows, or rather ascends beside, the course of the Salzach, through a deep narrow vale, which abounds in objects of curious

and romantic interest. Our first station was Hallein, a town of five thousand inhabitants, about ten English miles from Salzburg, where a day was agreeably passed in inspecting the mines and salt-works. This most important article of Austrian monopoly, here constitutes, intermixed with clay, the bulk of the Durrnberg, a hill nearly nine thousand feet long, four thousand broad, and twelve hundred and sixty\* of perpendicular height, which rises immediately behind the town. In the hill are bored eight ranges of horizontal galleries, one above the other, each with its subordinate works and appendages, and each communicating with the levels above and below, by shafts cut at angles of forty to fifty degrees. On each level are large lakes or ponds, formed by the streams and the drippings of the water, fresh and salt, which percolate the hill. The mass itself, chiefly of a dark brown colour, being a clayey earth intermixed with salt red and white in streaks, veins and nodules, is broken with the pickaxe, and conveyed to these lakes, where the clay becomes deposited, and the salt dissolved. The water, holding thus the salt in solution, is conducted down the hill in wooden pipes or conduits, into the town of Hallein, where it is received into pans constructed over furnaces; and, evaporation taking place in the usual way, the salt is left crystallized. We entered the mine at the third

\* The dimensions of this mountain of salt are given rather differently by some authors, probably owing to the measurements being taken at different points.

level from the summit, and passed through a great extent of spacious galleries, all of them dry and clean, and preserved from the irruptions of the earth around, by well-supported frame-works of wood, along the roofs and the sides. The remarkable features of the mine are the shafts or descents. We went down three of them. The first was three hundred and forty-two feet in length, descending at an angle of forty degrees and a half; the second one hundred and eighty-six feet, at an angle of forty-five and a half. Of the third, my notes do not allow me to speak with precision, but our aggregate descent was nearly seven hundred feet, which conducted us to a level, from whence we emerged through a gallery to the mountain-side, without the necessity of again ascending. These descents have been sometimes represented as awful and dangerous; and a friend of ours, in some written memorandums with which he favoured us, had said, "Do not go down into the salt-mines of Hallein, unless you have nerves well up to a very terrific, although curious enterprise." We found neither danger nor even the appearance of danger; and a young lady from Munich, who, with her father, was visiting the mines at the same time with us, having put on the miner's dress to descend, expressed as little apprehension or sense of terror as ourselves. Along the inclined planes, and raised above the surface of the soil about six or eight inches, are two rims or rollers of wood, the whole way down, with a rope running along the side of one of them. They are

about a foot apart, and between them the earth is cut into rude steps. A hand-rail runs along one of the sides; generally, but not always, on that opposite to the rope. When the miner's dress is adjusted to the body and legs, and the hands covered with thick gloves, the descending person extends his back along the rims of wood; and, with one leg pressed around the rope, and, if he chooses, one hand grasping the rail, he slides to the bottom most agreeably. The velocity may be increased by loosening the grasp of the leg on the cord, or diminished by increasing its pressure, or that of the hand on the rail; and a touch of the foot on the earth between the rims of wood checks, or indeed stops, the motion altogether, although at the risk of a jar to the whole body, violent in proportion to the descending velocity at the moment. Strangers are generally preceded by one of the miners, who has a perfect command of his own motions, and on whose shoulders they may, if they choose, firmly rest their feet: and as they thus glide along with a smooth and rapid motion, they may be reminded of the delightful sensations of the *Montagnes Russes*. The most striking and pleasing object we observed in the mine was one of those reservoirs into which the brine is collected. We had descended one or two of the shafts, and traversed long galleries, when we suddenly emerged into a large open space, lighted all around with lamps. It was a hall, two hundred and forty feet in length, by one hundred and eighty in breadth, and fifteen in height. The entire surface



from side to side was covered with water, which, although in fact not more than eighteen inches deep, had all the appearance of great profundity, and which now formed a barrier to our farther progress. A small skiff here received us, in which we were ferried along to the opposite extremity of this subterranean lake. The lights around sufficed to exhibit the whole extent of the cavern, without impairing by their brightness its gloomy grandeur; and as we skimmed along the surface of the dark water, and listened to the sullen dashing of the oars, and gazed on our Charon in his strange unearthly-looking miner's garb, we might well picture to our fancy the fabled horrors of our schoolboy Acheron, and conceive ourselves in progress to the footstool of Pluto.

The town of Hallein is distant only five English miles from the Bavarian watering-place of Berchtesgaden. The Durrenberg forms the boundary of the two sovereignties; or, rather, one portion of this hill is in the Austrian, and the other in the Bavarian territory. A glance at the map will here exhibit one of those anomalies of frontier, which have been brought about by peculiar interests, to the detriment of general convenience. The Bavarian district of Berchtesgaden, about fifteen English miles in length, and nearly thirteen in its greatest breadth, forms a sort of heart-shaped peninsular projection into the Austrian states, separated from them only by an imaginary line. It is connected with the rest of the Bavarian dominions by a neck of land between five and six English miles

wide, across which runs the river Saal, flowing out of Austrian territory on the one side, into Austrian territory on the other. Across this intervening strip of land, either upon the surface of the river, or on the road which follows its course, is the only passage for carriages and merchandise (except by a detour of some hundred miles) between the one portion of Austrian soil and the other; and, for this transit of a very few miles, are passengers and goods subjected to the delays and vexations of fiscal and police regulations. Had the Saal been made the frontier here, as it is in all its subsequent course until it falls into the Inn, this anomalous inconvenience would have been avoided; but the benefit of extracting salt from one side of the Durrenberg was an important object to the revenues of Bavaria; and Austria, for the sake of peace, yielded the point at the Congress of Vienna.

After obtaining much valuable local information from the courtesy of Mr. Müller, the inspector of the mines at Hallein, we proceeded on our southern course up the narrow vale of the Salzach. At Golling, ten English miles beyond Hallein, we visited, about two miles distant from the town, a very remarkable cascade. By fine zigzag walks cut in the woody ascent of a lofty hill, constructed some years ago at the expense of the Prince of Schwarzenberg from mere admiration of the spot, and now kept in order by the commune of Golling, we reached the source of an impetuous torrent. Bursting forth from a crevice in a limestone rock, it first falls perpendicularly

a hundred and sixty feet into a caldron below, whence it flows over a steep rapid to a second fall, the aggregate descent being about three hundred feet. It is what might be termed a theatrical cascade, and might be almost imagined to be formed for scenic effect. The great upper fall is confined within a sort of cylinder of rock, about thirty-five feet in diameter, and only open in front for about a fourth of its circumference. Across this opening, about a third of the distance up, is a natural arch of stone, extending from side to side; and above this again, a wooden bridge has been thrown across from the projecting points of rock near the summit of the cylinder. When viewed in front, the effect is very beautiful—as the great mass of water is seen first dashing over the ledge above, then pouring down a bright continuous flood in the interval between the upper and lower bridges, and precipitated into the foaming pool below; whence it again emerges, to form the rapid and the second fall.

A few miles beyond Golling, at a short distance from the high road, are the Oefen, or Caldrons of the Salzach. Quitting the carriage, and following an irregular foot-path over huge fragments of broken rock, we arrived at this strange and awful scene of confusion; and found ourselves on a ledge overhanging a sort of natural amphitheatre, at the bottom of which the torrent rushes and roars as if in an agony of torment. The current, which in its higher course had been much confined, appears to have been in this spot absolutely barred by the intervening rock,

through which its impetuosity forces a channel constantly varying in size and form. The vehemence of the waters, ever striving for a larger vent, exerts its fury in breaking open new channels, while the older ones become often obstructed by the masses which fall in from above ; and as the exit is always imperfect, and the torrent always violent, those “ caldrons ” are formed, wherein the waters foam and boil with a restless fury. Twice, in the small space beneath our eye, the river was lost under the rock, and again burst forth. In one part it had created a vast natural arch over its course, and in another it rushed down into a deep dark gulf. As we descended into the great chasm, by a rude zigzag path, it was curious to observe, on the face of the perpendicular rock which fronted us, and which might have been perhaps a hundred and fifty feet in depth, the marks of three distinct levels, at which the river has formerly run, as it has successively forced its way lower and lower until it reached its present bed, where it is now clearing to itself a new channel through a narrow cleft amid the ponderous fragments which it has overthrown. The scene was grand, almost to horror ; yet not without some intermixture of beauty, from the trees which in many parts fringed the borders of the chasm, and tottered, almost self-supported, on its narrow ledges. We left it with regret ; but, returning to the road, and resuming our journey southward through the vale, we soon arrived at another of those remarkable objects of natural

grandeur with which these mountains abound. We entered the Pass of Lueg, a defile between lofty perpendicular mountains, some miles in length, and generally so narrow as merely to admit the road (which is sometimes cut into the sides of the solid rock) and the channel of the torrent below. Perched on one point is a small fort, which has more than once sufficed alone to command the pass; but, in order to render the position absolutely impregnable, one of much larger extent was now in progress of erection on the opposite side of the defile, constructed on projecting ledges and pinnacles of the rock, and accessible only by a bridge of wood, suspended high above the torrent. The next post-station beyond this pass is Werfen, whose antique castle, on a lofty eminence, was formerly a principal stronghold of the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Salzburg; and fourteen miles further is the small town of St. Johann, where we found every necessary accommodation for passing the night.

Hitherto we had proceeded in a direction nearly due south from Salzburg, in a valley of secondary limestone, resting latterly on slate. The valley, with the river flowing through it, at St. Johann takes a direction almost at right angles with its former course, running nearly east and west, and bounded on the southern side by the great chain of Noric Alps. Deflecting in the westward direction, with the Salzach still beside us, we reached Lend, a small village, where are smelted the gold and silver ores

brought from the neighbouring mines. By the courtesy of the chief inspector we examined the maps and plans; but the smelting processes were not in operation. They are worked only in the winter and the spring,—a period of the year when the fumes of arsenic exhaled from the ores are less prejudicial to the country around. The great wall of the Alps along the southern side of the valley, their peaks deeply covered with snow, seemed now to form an impenetrable barrier against further advance; but, high above the town of Lend, the eye could perceive a sort of rent in the vast chain, which might be the opening of a vale. Thither, up a very steep ascent, we proceeded for an hour and a half on foot, while the horses dragged up the carriage, with slow short steps. We entered the gorge, and for some miles toiled up through the defile of Klamn, one of the most remarkable of the Alpine passes. It is a long, deep, and very narrow fissure in the rock, the sides of which, on either hand, are almost as smooth and straight as if cut with a knife. Along one of these sides, and ascending generally at a considerable angle, the road has been formed with a great degree of boldness and of science. It is in itself good, and well secured by parapets, and advantage has been taken of natural ledges and irregularities where they have existed,—but in many parts no such natural facilities have been found; and the road is either cut into the rock or supported on beams and trunks of trees, morticed into the perpen-

dicular side of the mountain, and fearfully overhanging the wild Ach, which roars along in its narrow channel several hundred feet below. Having reached the summit of this pass, we emerged into the rich green vale of Gastein, about thirteen miles in length by a mile or a mile and a half in breadth, bounded on all sides by hills, very steep, covered with green either of field or forest, and forming, as it were, the advance-guard of the rocky snow-decked peaks behind. Rolling along the level surface, amid pastures and poor-looking cottages, we reached the small town of Hof-Gastein, which still exhibits some marks of a period of opulence long since passed away. After changing horses we proceeded seven miles onwards to the farthest extremity of the vale, which here appears to the eye to terminate abruptly; but, at an angle inclining towards the south-west, is a narrow opening, abrupt and steep, leading to an upper vale, nearly seven hundred feet higher than that of Gastein. In this rude, rough, narrow pass, perched on points of rock, and small levels of a few feet in extent, is built the romantic village of Bad-Gastein, overhanging the torrent of the Ach, which flows from the upper to the lower vale in a series of cascades, exceeding, in the whole, six hundred and sixty feet.

In July and August Bad-Gastein must be a delightful place to the admirers of rude grand scenery. As the upper vale is about three thousand eight hundred feet above the sea, and the lower one at Hof Gastein more than three thousand, from whence it

somewhat ascends, the village must have an elevation of three thousand five hundred or three thousand six hundred feet. On the one side of the narrow chasm in which it stands towers aloft the peak of the Grankogel, nine thousand feet in height; and on the other the Schneiberg, six thousand feet high; while loftier points, eleven and twelve thousand in elevation, may be seen arising beyond. The village has few houses, and no resources but those of the splendid nature around it. One general shop, a few lodging-houses, a very large hotel, and a second one of smaller size, form its principal buildings; and persons not finding accommodation therein must withdraw to the town of Hof-Gastein, seven miles distant, whither the mineral water of the "Bad" is conveyed by wooden pipes for the baths there constructed. We were ourselves lodged at Straubenger's hotel, and had it nearly to ourselves. The visitors of Gastein had, with only four exceptions, all taken their departure for a more genial climate, and left us alone in this strange old edifice. Its large low central space, which might be called a hall, in some parts open to the roof, in others partially covered with the floorings of higher rooms irregularly rising to three or more stages in height,—its nests of small dark apartments, connected by numerous separate staircases, wide and low,—its outside galleries beneath the projecting gables,—and the whole of wood, within and without, black with age, and acquiring even an additional gloom from the



minuteness and the rareness of the small deep apertures miscalled windows,—all conspired to render this a perfect model of the ancient timber architecture of the mountains. With regret we heard that its days were numbered. After having existed for three hundred years, and always as the property of the same family, it was to yield at length to the taste of the age, and to be replaced by a glaring structure of stone, which was already in part erected. We took our meals in the large low saloon of the ancient building, but slept in the newer edifice, close beside the channel of the Ach, in its headlong course from the upper to the lower vale: and an awful and a fearful thing it was, especially in the darkness of the night, to hear, a few feet only below the window, the roaring of the mighty cataract.

Of the mineral waters of Gastein little notice is required. They rise from six sources in the granite rock, at a temperature varying from  $112^{\circ}$  to  $122^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit;—are little taken internally, but are used in baths, of which there are several, public and private,—and are said to be highly efficacious in imparting vigour to the nerves and principal organs of the body. Yet, by the finest analysis, they appear to contain, in sixteen ounces of water, only two grains and seven-tenths of ponderable matter, composed of twelve different ingredients, and with no gaseous contents whatever: and hence, probably, the local authorities have sought to ascribe their asserted medicinal efficacy to certain peculiar properties, which are either

unimportant in value, or exceedingly improbable in fact. Some hidden virtue is fancied to be connected with their faculty of restoring leaves and flowers apparently dead ; but this is a faculty which, although undoubtedly true, the waters of Gastein possess only in common with those of many, perhaps most, other warm natural springs. They are stated to possess strong *magnetic* properties ; but statements of a similar kind were formerly made as to the waters of Wiesbaden and several other hot springs, all of which are now ascertained, by more correct observation, to be utterly unfounded. Finally, it is asserted, on the authority of experiments made by two German professors, that the composition of the water itself differs from that of other water, in containing a larger proportionate number of atoms of hydrogen, and a smaller number of those of oxygen. This would indeed be a surprising fact ; but, to say nothing of the very great difficulty and delicacy of the processes by which alone it could be investigated, we can hardly conceive that a circumstance, so opposed to all established theory as founded both on observation and experiment, could exist in the waters of Gastein, without having come prominently forward in the annals of European philosophy. Of these waters therefore it may be justly said, that they are pure and innocuous ; but the salutary effects connected with their use must be mainly attributed to the invigorating influences of mountain air and exercise.

In the *upper* vale which I before mentioned, is

the village of Böckstein, a name which is also given to the vale itself. Its elevation is more than three thousand eight hundred English feet above the sea, and at its southern extremity is one of those romantic fissures or cracks which penetrate or traverse the great mass of the Alps. Late as was the season for such excursions, we pursued it for several miles, ascending the course of the fissure beside the torrent of the Ach, by a horse-track in many parts formed by blasting the overhanging rock. The upper parts of the hills on either side were deeply covered with snow, which the sun, shining brightly in a cloudless sky, so gradually dissolved as to form hundreds of cascades around us; and, in two parts especially, large masses of snow loosened by the rays, and partly mixed with water, came rushing down the mountain-side into the torrent, forming small but perfect avalanches. We passed the three celebrated falls of the Ach, neither of them in our opinion so beauteous as the one at Gastein; and, having attained an elevation of about five thousand four hundred feet, reached the small plain of Naasfeld, inhabited by a few poor cottagers and dairy farmers, but now (12th September) covered with deep snow. From Naasfeld a pass winds along the mountain-tops into Carniola at a far higher elevation, which in the summer may be traversed by horses and mules; but at this season further advance was not to be attempted; and, highly gratified with the grand scenery we had already contemplated, we returned

with pleasure to the comparatively warm and sheltered regions below. At Böckstein is one of those auriferous mountains which are not unfrequent in the Noric Alps; but which, as will be explained in a future Chapter,\* are now rarely worked to profitable purpose. The gold is here found in veins of quartz permeating in various directions a mountain of gneiss, which rises shortly behind the village (Böckstein), to an extreme elevation of nine thousand eight hundred English feet above the sea. It is worked in a series of horizontal galleries, the highest at an elevation of eight thousand six hundred feet, which communicate with one another by shafts, and some of which are of great antiquity. The quartz is severed by blasting, and broken into small pieces at the mine, whence it is conveyed by descending water-tubes to Böckstein. Here it is reduced to powder, which is mixed largely with water. The mud thus produced is, by the machinery of water-mills, gently but constantly agitated on a series of planes, nearly horizontal, but slightly inclining downwards the one to the other; by which action, the lighter part is successively carried forward, while the heavier particles, including the gold and silver, subside at the bottom. This heavier portion, after repeated similar washings, is subjected to mercury, and the amalgamation conducted in the usual manner. This is the course adopted when the gold is in sufficient grain-

\* Vol. II.—Chapter on Mines, &c.

age to be capable of separation by mere pulverization ; in other cases, where it is held in chemical combination, as it frequently is, with arsenic and sulphur, it is sent direct to the smelting-houses at Lend. In the vale of Rauriz, a chasm of the mountains parallel to that of Böckstein, the auriferous quartz is found to be somewhat more productive, but at Böckstein the receipts have not for many years sufficed to cover the expenditure ; and the operations, which give bread to about a hundred and fifty men with their families, are rather continued from a motive of benevolence, than from any view to fiscal benefit.

The entire population of the Gastein and Böckstein valleys amounts to about three thousand eight hundred—chiefly keepers of cattle, and very poor. Three centuries since, this was a region of opulence—and the superior production of the mines, together with the great commercial traffic, chiefly for purposes of contraband introduction into the neighbouring dominions of Austria and Bavaria, gave to Hof-Gastein somewhat of a wealthy and luxurious character. Early in the seventeenth century this prosperity began to decline. Improved communications, and a more watchful fiscal police, diminished the profits of the mountain commerce :—the rock yielded less and less of the precious metals,—and the intolerant persecution of the Salzburg sovereigns drove into exile the wealthiest and the bravest of its subjects, both from the mountains and the valleys, the greater part of whom

had imbibed the principles of the Reformation. The territories of Salzburg, especially its Alpine regions, never recovered from the effects of this emigration; and the public impoverishment was completed by the extinction of the sovereign principality. Since the union of the "Salzburgisch" with Austria, its condition may be somewhat improving. The salt-works of Hallein especially, and the breeding of horses and cattle, have spread a greater degree of prosperity around, since they have been under the direction or the patronage of the Austrian government; but the inhabitants are, upon the whole, a poor unthriving population. They are not badly clothed, wearing thick woollen stuffs, the products of their cottage industry; and they feed abundantly on bread and bacon; but in the mountain valleys their dwellings and their persons are slovenly and untidy; their cottages dirty and out of repair. Judging from our limited personal intercourse, however, I should speak of them as simple-minded, upright, and benevolent; for such we always found them. At the little inns of the poor villages in the valley of the Salzach, where we had twice occasion to sleep between Salzburg and Gastein, we found clean good beds, abundant provision, and great desire to please; and this, with a smallness of charge, which was surprising even for Austria;—but industry and frugality are not said to be generally among the Salzburg excellencies; and the external characteristics of domestic order are certainly inferior to those

which may be discerned in Upper Austria and Bohemia.

We returned to Salzburg, as we had come, by the valley of the Salzach. It is in regions such as these, especially, that geology becomes a truly ennobling pursuit. While man is reduced to a consciousness of his physical insignificance amid the stupendous works of nature, he may at the same time humbly rejoice in that moral pre-eminence which enables him to trace all their phenomena, and to conjecture the secondary causes by which they have been created. At Naasfeld we had stood upon that central mass of unstratified granite, which forms the great axis of the Alps. Descending thence towards the north, we traversed the gneiss with granitic intermixtures, at Böchstein and Gastein. At the Pass of Klamn we found ourselves on the slate, which was bounded by the deep valley of the Salzach, here running east and west. Crossing the valley, and on the opposite side following its course, which now makes a rectangular bend and proceeds towards the north, we found the rock on either side of us a hard, compact, often crystallised limestone; to which, as we advanced towards Salzburg, other calcareous rocks succeeded of a more soft and marly texture. It is rarely that the general observer will find within his reach so easy and so perfect a study, and on the grandest scale, of the earlier geological formations, as in his progress from Gastein to Salzburg. He will admire the successive stratifications, all regularly inclining outwards from the central

granite, and each at a smaller angle, as the distance therefrom increases. The strata of the gneiss are nearly perpendicular, and of the slate still highly inclined. Those of the harder limestones are less so; and as we increase our distance, we find a gradually-increasing tendency towards the horizontal position. The arrangement of rock on the southern flanks of the central axis corresponds precisely with that on the northern; and the most superficial observer, when he traces the course of these phenomena, will find conclusively exhibited to his mind the evidence of the granite having been protruded from below, upheaving and casting aside the various superincumbent layers. Whether these general dispositions, together with the occasional contortions of the strata, may more justly lead to the inference of M. Elie de Beaumont, that the protrusion has been sudden and catastrophic, or to the opinion of Mr. Lyell, that it is the gradual result of slow small impulses acting through a vast succession of ages, may be a question of far more difficult conjecture.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Salzkammergut—Ischel—Population, its Number and Condition—Lake of Gmunden—Falls of the Traun—Sir H. Davy—Enter Upper Styria—Aussee and its Environs—Admont, its Monastery, Library, and Botanical Collections—Observations on the History and Character of the Benedictine Order; their Rules, Observances, and Present Condition—Leave Admont—Vale of the Enns—Eisenerz—Vordenberg—Bruck—Journey to Mariazell—Imperial Iron-works—Observations on the Austrian Foundries—The great Employment of Manual Labour—The Effects to be expected from an Increase of Machinery—State of Roads and Communications.

IT is not my intention to attempt a detail of the natural beauties of the Salzkammergut.\* It is a region of mountain scenery, situated within the confines of Upper Austria, and containing altogether about twenty thousand inhabitants, whereof one-fourth are Lutherans. Its hills abound in salt, of which upwards of six hundred thousand quintals are annually furnished from the works at Ischel, Aussee, Ebensee, and Hallstadt; and its vales are laid out in pastures covered with the finest cattle. Ischel, the principal place of this lovely district, and now a

\* *Salzkammergut*—Property of the Salt Chamber.

much-frequented watering-place, is distant about thirty English miles from Salzburg. It is situated in a small green plain, with lofty hills rising immediately from it, clothed with pines, beech, and sycamores. The white houses, covered with wooden shingle roofs, are spread along and near the banks of the Traun, which pours its green, rapid, torrent-like stream along, forming numerous rapids and small cascades. Among the buildings are good lodging-houses, the number of which is annually increasing. The Hotel of the Post we found excellent; and in few places may some weeks be more agreeably passed in the warmer season of the year, than at Ischel. If its position be less romantic than that of Gastein, it is more richly beautiful. The excellent roads by which it may be reached from Vienna, Grätz, or Salzburg, together with the active intercourse carried on between it and the Danube, render it a town of increasing resources, although the shops and magazines are still few and poor. Its climate, although rigorous in winter, and although so comparatively cold even now in the middle of September, as to have caused the greater part of its visitors to have already departed, seemed warm and genial to us who had descended from the loftier Alps. It has the usual appendages of a reading-room, an assembly-room, and baths, in which the water is purely and simply saline. The rides and walks about it are delightful; and the beauty of its immediate position is increased by the valleys, or rather glens,

five or six in number, which open from the small central plain, and thus create a diversity of prospect at every step. The population, of which the fixed number resident at Ischel, exclusive of visitors, is about two thousand, cannot be contemplated without some mixture of pleasure and of pain. Their features, and the general expression of their countenances, are very agreeable. The females have dark eyes and clear complexions; and are no longer deformed by the hideous man's hat of Gastein and the Alps, but cover the head with a black silk handkerchief, which, if less elegant than the simply-braided hair of Bohemia, is perhaps more consistent with the nature of the climate, and not in itself ungraceful. The appearance of the men, however, is somewhat sickly,—a circumstance which may be ascribed to the excessive heat of the salt-works, about which a large proportion of them are employed: but the prevailing disfigurement of the lower classes are the goitres, some of enormous size, which abound in both sexes. They are somewhat less general among the men than the females; but, of the latter, the number is small, in the inferior stations of life, who pass the age of thirty without some indication of these deforming appendages.

Excursions amid lakes embosomed in wood, and mountains varying in height from five to nine thousand feet, may be made from Ischel in various directions; among the more remarkable of which are those to the lakes of Halstadt and of Gmunden.

The latter is reached, by following the course of the Traun through a deep-wooded valley, for about ten English miles. The colour of the water in the lake is, like that of the river, a clear bright green. Embarking at Ebensee, on its southernmost point, we landed at the very pretty town of Gmunden on its northern extremity. We had with us the "Consolations in Travel;" and if we looked in vain for even a vestige of that "eternal snow," and of some other descriptive peculiarities which filled the imagination of Sir Humphry Davy, we found at all events a very fine sheet of water, about eight miles long and two miles in its greatest width, edged with lofty green hills, among which the Traunstein rises to an elevation of between five and six thousand feet. The Traun leaps grandly from the lake at its northern extremity, and flows through the descending vale. We followed its course ten miles farther, and arrived at the celebrated falls, over which the President records his having been projected, and dragged apparently lifeless to the shore, by the strong fishing-tackle of a stranger who was angling just below. The fall itself is about forty feet, and the mass of water considerable; but it derives more interest from the adventure of Sir Humphry than from its own beauty or grandeur; and it was therefore with some feelings of disappointment, that we ascertained the adventure itself to be utterly devoid of foundation,—a mere fiction of the poetical philosopher. The story itself was well known to all the cottagers about, for it

had been repeated by every English tourist ; and the addition has been made, doubtless by some English wag, that the angler below the falls was the present King of Bavaria ; but all agreed that the adventure was a fable, introduced, no doubt, by the ardent genius of the author, to grace one of the most elegant and interesting publications that ever proceeded from the press.

The Province of UPPER AUSTRIA, including, as it now does, the principality of Salzburg, and the duchy of STYRIA, especially the circles of Bruck and of Judenburg, which constitute what is termed *Upper Styria*, form together a region of mountain-scenery unsurpassed in beauty or grandeur by any country in Europe. The facilities for communication are certainly not of the highest order, except along the great lines of post-road ; but the inns, even at the smaller villages, are clean and neat, and afford sufficient accommodation and comfort for travellers not moving in very numerous parties. The people—gentle, honest, and obliging—are trained from their childhood to habits of order and contentment. The traveller sees no intervention of police, civil or military ; rarely even does he observe a soldier. No demand is made for passports, no inquiry as to his nation or objects ; and as he roams along, sometimes on the high post-roads and sometimes deviating from them, no appearance of distress, no importunate or

shrinking mendicancy, no symptom of magisterial harshness or of popular dissatisfaction, arise to disturb the harmony of his soul with the glorious nature around him.

The continuance of cloudless skies and of genial warmth of atmosphere, induced us to extend our journeyings in this interesting country for some weeks longer, before proceeding to Vienna. We left Ischel by the high post-road towards Grätz, and ascended the course of the Traun in a vale of thickly-wooded hills. We deflected from the road to visit the lake of Hallstadt, surrounded by high black rock, with the little town of Hallstadt and its salt-works on the beach. An excursion from that point might have been made up the romantic valley of the Gosau, and to those remarkable beds of deposit, which are now held to form an intermediate link between the secondary and tertiary geological formations: but, unwilling to devote so much time as would have been requisite for a deviation to that particular object, in a country where so many exist to command admiration, we returned from the lake to the high road, and, by the assistance of three additional horses to our light carriage, were dragged to the summit of the lofty limestone ridge which forms the boundary between Upper Austria and Styria. The Traun we had quitted on the northern side, and now descended to the romantic town of Aussee, the first Styrian station. We employed some hours very delightfully in visiting the neighbouring lakes of Alt-Aussee and

Grundel, and passed the evening at the very comfortable inn of the Black Bear. Aussee was a favourite resort of Sir Humphry Davy, who, on several occasions, passed some weeks here enjoying its very splendid scenery, and the fishing on the lakes and the mountain-streams around. In its vicinity are large formations of salt, which are here, as in the Salzkammergut, generally found in a formation answering to that of our lower oolites.

We proceeded from Aussee, by the post-road along the valley of the Enns, through Mittendorf, Steinach, and Lietzen, all of them places of picturesque and pleasing aspect. Near Lietzen the high-road branches off in a southerly direction, quitting the line of the Enns, which pursues its course through a region of lofty and magnificent mountains. This course it was our object to follow, in order to visit the Benedictine monastery of Admont. The distance thither from Lietzen is only about ten English miles; but the road itself was so execrably bad, so encumbered, too, with huge fragments of stone, washed down upon it by the mountain-torrents, and only partially removed, that, although we were furnished with excellent horses, more than four hours were passed in accomplishing this short journey.

Admont is a small agricultural town of about nine hundred inhabitants, situated at the elevation of nearly two thousand three hundred feet above the sea, and surrounded by mountains from five to seven thousand feet higher than itself. The vale in which

it stands, watered by the Enns, has a wet swampy appearance ; and the climate, during six months of the year, is very rigorous. Here, close adjoining the village, is the far-famed Benedictine Abbey, the largest, with the exception of one in Hungary, of any in the Austrian dominions ; but very far from the richest—for although it has large possessions, and holds the manorial lordship over all the country around, yet, owing to the pressure of contributions and losses during the wars, as also from the mismanagement of an abbot now no more, the property is under administration for the benefit of the creditors. It is governed by a pro-rector, therefore, in lieu of an abbot ; and this superior happened to be absent,—a circumstance for which the regrets of the fathers were expressed, “ he being charged with the hospitalities.” One of them, however, the hofmeister, conducted us through the apartments ; and in him, as well as in several others of the order who joined us afterwards in the gardens, we found, as usual with the Benedictines, men of well-informed minds and agreeable manners. The monastery itself is in an unfinished state ; but still it is a very stately pile, and well repays the fatigue of the stranger in traversing the wretched roads by which it must be reached. Its original foundation dates from the year 1060. The present edifice is of much more modern construction, and in its vast extent are contained upwards of three hundred rooms. The church is richly decorated with marbles and gildings ; but the



chief ornament of the abbey is the library. Here, in this secluded spot, detached from the world around by mountain peaks, and only to be reached through swampy glens very partially reclaimed, has been formed the most beautiful apartment for the deposit of learned lore which it has ever been my fortune to contemplate. It is a hall of grand dimensions—nearly two hundred and forty feet long, and extremely lofty; the domed ceiling of which, as well as the walls above and between the book-cases, are painted in the most perfect taste,—richly, but not heavily, gilded, and adorned with statues and emblems of finely-carved oak. Among the books, which are said to be in number about seventy thousand, is a large collection of incunabula, religious and classical; and a good many manuscripts, chiefly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—some, as usual, finely illuminated. Among these is one of much earlier date, to which the fathers especially adverted, as containing probably some curious information; but the value of which we had not ourselves time or opportunity to investigate. It is a Latin Vocabularium, or dictionary of words and things; stated to be a work of the eighth century, and which has never been printed: but should it be the production of a later period, which is the more probable conjecture, it might still, for antiquarian research, contain matter of curious interest concerning the opinions of an age which is still but imperfectly understood. In the album of the library I observed the names of Lord

Nelson and Lady Hamilton ; as also of Sir Humphry Davy, who presented to it a copy of the facsimile of the Alexandrian Manuscript : and attached to the great room are museums of natural history, and especially some valuable botanical collections. The hofmeister is an experienced naturalist. For several years past he has employed a portion of the summer months in botanical researches ; from the products of which he has arranged a number of large folios of the Flora of this mountain region, admirably preserved. Here, too, is one of those excellent collections formed to exhibit the phenomena of trees, on a plan which I do not recollect to have seen, except in the Austrian States. It is a series of cases, about a hundred in number, arranged on shelves, and having the appearance of so many rather thick octavo volumes ; each one containing the history and exemplification of a separate species. The outside covers are made of the wood ; the backs are of the bark, in which letters are cut, expressing the botanical and the popular names. The covers open with a clasp ; and within the case are sections of the wood, the seeds, the leaves, all the botanical phenomena, and a written statement of the natural history of the tree.

The regular establishment of monks at this noble abbey is ninety ; but of these we found twenty only resident. In conformity with the system enforced by the Austrian government, as explained in the chapter on Religion (Vol. II.), the rest were out in

the world, employed as professors in the universities and other institutions for the education of youth ; or fulfilling the duties of parochial incumbents in the parishes attached to the monastery. Those who remained were likewise fully occupied. On some devolved the sacred or administrative offices of the abbey itself ; on others the instruction of the youth of the district, whose gymnasium was within their walls : while to others again was committed the charge of the education bestowed on a body of students in theology, fifteen or twenty in number, who were boarded at a certain rate of payment within the abbey.

A few reflections may be here permitted on the history and character of the monks of St. Benedict. In the censures which have been so largely, and probably in a majority of cases so justly, levelled against the abuses of monachism, it has been too frequently the practice to confound the proprietary with the mendicant orders, and to render all responsible for the faults of a portion. The four mendicant orders,—to whom the term friars, as distinguished from monks, is correctly applied, namely, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, and Carmelites,—sprung into existence almost contemporaneously during the first half of the thirteenth century—one of the most corrupt periods of the Romish church.\* The usurpations and impostures of the papal court had already excited,

\* The Augustines and Carmelites claim a much earlier origin in Egypt and in the East, but their European existence dates only from the above period.

in various countries, a commencement of civil resistance and of doctrinal schism, which the labours of the secular clergy had in vain attempted to suppress. These latter found little assistance from the regulars, which at that time consisted only of the monks, properly so called,—the original Benedictines, and those communities, the Cisterians, Carthusians, &c., who emanate from them and follow the general character of their rule. The monks were all possessed of large domains; and all removed, either by their special monastic rule, or by the social superiority necessarily attached to their great wealth and generally noble birth, from familiar intercourse with the lower classes. It was feared moreover at Rome, that the learning and independence of the Benedictines might have disposed them, in many respects, rather to encourage than resist the spread of the reforming spirit which was then arising; and hence originated the creation of the friars, or mendicant orders, under such peculiar constitutions as should render them most effective instruments for the purposes of the Roman see. Clothed and fed on a scale consistent with their vows of poverty and mendicancy, they moved on a footing of equality, perhaps of inferiority even, with the meanest of the people: but, to sustain that ascendancy over popular feeling which novelty might at first have created, more powerful means were required than simple humility and zeal. It was necessary to excite the passions, and to work on the credulity of the multitude. Miracles the most impious, were invented and asserted, to support

doctrinal impositions if possible still more atrocious. The different orders of friars became rivals of each other for the power which these abominations were found to confer; and the popes were obliged, although often most reluctantly, to confirm them all, lest they might themselves lose the services of those who had become the strongest supports of the pontifical authority. As their mission was more especially among the lower classes, so from them were their ranks in a great measure recruited. That some men of great learning and of genuine piety have adorned the mendicant orders, cannot be denied;\* but their general characteristics were a fierce intolerant zeal, united with a most abject and ignorant fanaticism:—and it was to instruments such as these, that were confided the favours and the terrors of the church. The Franciscans sallied forth upon their crusade against heresy, stored with indulgences such as had never before been conceded; while the sword of the inquisition was placed in the hands of the Dominicans. The Benedictines, in the mean time, pursued in peace their benevolent course. They had derived their origin from St. Benedict, who, as early as about the year 530, promulgated his rule, combining religious observances with severe bodily labour: but, as centuries passed on and wealth increased, they had substituted, under papal sanction, mental for corporal exertion. They had thus become the promulgators of religious,

\* That enlightened and excellent pontiff, Ganganelli, was a friar of the order of Minims, a branch of the Franciscans.

elegant, and useful learning, and of all those arts which tend to the improvement and happiness of man. Their missions went forth into the wildest mountain regions, administering comfort to the souls and bodies of the straggling natives; and wherever they fixed a station, which in time arose to be a succursal monastery, there were morasses drained, and forests cleared; agriculture and the decencies of life extended;—while around their walls a town was gradually formed, the offspring and the recipient of their instructions and their charities. Active and contemplative philosophy were united in their mansions. It is through them that the treasures of ancient learning have been preserved for us. Their libraries were the safe asylums for the rolls of Homer and of Horace, which barbarous fanaticism would have devoted to the flames as emanations of idolatrous heathenism. Of painting and sculpture they were the enlightened patrons: and music is indebted to Benedictine genius for the construction of the organ, and the first adaptation of harmonies. As originators or agents of religious missions, their zeal was ever tempered with judgment and kindness. To them the northern European nations owe, in a principal degree, their conversion to Christianity. Augustine, the founder of the cathedral of Canterbury, our earliest primate, was a Benedictine: and to prelates of this rule may be traced the origin of nearly all our other cathedral edifices. Neither has the order forfeited, in later times, that high pre-eminence over other fraternities, in

what even a Protestant may call moral dignity, of which it might boast in the most flourishing periods of its history. Wheresoever I have visited Benedictine communities, in the various countries of Europe, or even on the western side of the Atlantic, I have found them a body of well-educated, well-conducted gentlemen. They partake, of course, somewhat of the peculiar character of their respective nation, whatsoever it be. In Spain (where they were always very few) they may be somewhat less indulgently tolerant than at Naples—in Austria more actively laborious than in Lombardy—but in all parts they are highly superior to the monastic orders around them. Individually they live with great temperance, but no ascetic severity. Nowhere do they practise or recommend any peculiar austerities or confinements, and in no country have they allowed themselves to be the instruments of persecution. It may perhaps be correct to say, that as regards Roman Catholic countries, religion has been more tolerant in proportion as the Benedictine has been the prevailing character of monachism. In Spain the order was little known, and the land was delivered over to Dominican fury; while in the kingdom of Naples, the cradle of the Benedictine system, the court of Rome could never obtain even the admission of the inquisition. In enlightened Tuscany, they were more dominant than on the Roman soil. In Austria they were always more powerful than the Mendicants; but sunk before the ascendancy of the Jesuits, under whose influence the

religious wars against the Protestants were conducted in Bohemia and Hungary. In Ireland they were never influential; while in England, five-and-twenty mitred abbots of their order had seats in the national council. When the atrocities of the Mendicants roused the just anger of Wickliffe, and deterred parents from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge, lest they should be inveigled or terrified into submission to the rule of St. Dominic or St. Francis, no complaint was made of the Benedictines. Their abbeys were reported even by the commissioners of Henry VIII. as comparatively free of those abuses which abounded among the friars, and which served as the pretext for the general dissolution. The Carthusians and Bernardines may take credit for those severe exercises and mortifications of the flesh, by the adoption of which they conceive themselves to have returned to the purity of St. Benedict's ancient rule; but the world will believe, that there is far more of the real Christian spirit in the conduct and practice of those, who are still distinguished by the name of their original founder.

In the Austrian states the greater portion of the Benedictine properties was estranged from the order by the decrees of Joseph II., and poured into the "religious chest."\* The monasteries were, some of them, abolished altogether,—others consolidated,—and in those which are permitted still to exist, the

\* See Vol. II.—Chapter on Religion, &c.



number of each community is regulated under the inspection of the crown. The constitution and pursuits of the abbey scarcely differ in any material point from those of a Cambridge college. They are a society of well-informed gentlemanly men, whose principal object is tuition, either within their own precincts, in the pulpits of their vicarages, or at the public academies. The resident fathers have each one or two rooms, neatly furnished, which constitute their "cell." They dine and sup in the common hall, and attend the morning and evening services of the chapel; but practise no other compulsory religious exercises. The usual mode adopted for the recruitment of their numbers is this. It is competent in most cases for the Superior to admit to the noviciate, the term of which is five years, and which period is passed in preparatory studies. At the expiration of the noviciate, the election into the body is in the chapter at large of each abbey by general vote. The elected member makes the vows of obedience to the rule, which, among its other articles, prohibits the possession of private property. Such of this, therefore, as the elected monk may possess, either passes to the body, or, what is more usual, is conveyed by deed to some relative or trustee, from whom he is permitted to receive a pecuniary allowance. Besides the advantages of board, lodging, and clothes defrayed from the common funds, the brothers usually receive some stipend in money from the "college chest;" and those engaged in tuition have considerable extra

emoluments. Once a-year they all meet at the monastery in grand chapter, or college meeting, when all accounts are audited, general business transacted, and "fellows" elected. The reflecting observer, while contemplating the ruins of Glastonbury or Fountains, may lament that the spirit of Joseph's wisdom had not directed the monastic reformation of England. He may inquire whether a renunciation of doctrinal error might not have been obtained from the regular, as from the secular clergy; and, under the abolition of irrevocable vows, those noble edifices have been rendered a blessing to the nation, as asylums for age and academies for youth. He will deplore that, if the work of spoliation *were* to take place, the large possessions of which Malmesbury and Tavistock and Battle and Rivaulx were deprived, were not, as in Austria, formed into a fund for objects of public good, instead of being squandered on the private favourites of the sovereign. He will not improbably be indignant at the charge sometimes preferred against the church, that she no longer provides exclusively for the poor, and for the reparations of the sacred edifices, when he reflects that so large a portion of her property has been forcibly taken from her, and that *more than a moiety* of the whole tithe of the kingdom is now received by lay impropiators.

From Admont the Enns traverses a magnificent gorge, to Hieflau, but recent torrents had broken up

the road beside it; and, in quitting the monastery, we were reduced to the choice either of retracing our steps, or of proceeding northward to Altenmarkt. We adopted the latter course. The scenery was grand, but the road itself extremely bad and tremendously hilly. We were five hours in accomplishing the distance of fifteen miles; and although we were ourselves on foot, it several times occurred that double drags, and the restraining efforts of two or three attendants at the wheels, scarcely kept back the carriage from overpowering the horses in the steep descents.

The vale of the Enns is among the most beautiful in Europe. Entering it through the gorge of Hief-lau, the river bends at nearly a right angle, and flowing towards the north as far as Altenmarkt, which is still within the Styrian frontier, it thenceforward forms the boundary between Upper and Lower Austria, until it ultimately falls into the Danube. The hills in its immediate vicinity are of limestone; finely wooded in most parts, but exhibiting much of rugged rock projecting among the foliage; rising from five to ten thousand feet in height, and combining every picturesque variety of form—the wildly grand with the richly beautiful. But a peculiar feature of this splendid vale is the detachment of its mountain masses into separate groups and single hills; which thus present to the view an ever-varying succession of lateral openings and valleys and vistas, until at length the eye becomes, if possible, cloyed with admiration. Hav-

ing made some excursions amid the fine scenery close around Altenmarkt, we ascended the vale towards the south for about five-and-twenty miles, having the river always beside us as far as the gorge of Hieflau. We passed numerous small towns and villages, thriving with the labours of the anvil and the forge; and several immense constructions of wooden gratings, erected across the mouths of tributary streams, and partly in the Enns itself, to arrest the progress of the timber which is drifted down from the forests in enormous quantities, to be converted into charcoal and supply the furnaces. Shortly beyond Hieflau the road quits the vale to ascend the hills of iron-ore, whereof the Erzberg may be deemed the centre. After rising for some distance, we reached Eisenerz, a dirty disagreeable town of about fifteen hundred inhabitants, chiefly employed in smelting works. Immediately behind it, towards the south, rises the Erzberg, a mountain of slate, about three thousand feet in height, wherein the mines are worked. These are the property partly of the crown, and partly of a private company, whereof the Archduke John is one of the principal shareholders; and yield annually about fifteen thousand tons of metal. The ore is sent down by easy descending processes from the summit of the hill, to be smelted either at Vordenberg on the southern, or at Eisenerz on the northern, declivity: from the former of which the metal is conveyed forward to Lower Styria, Carniola, and the Adriatic; and from the latter, by the vale of the Enns to

Weyer, where are considerable steel-works, and onward to the Danube. The Noric iron was famed among the Romans; and although it has been so largely extracted during so many centuries, still the Erzberg and all the hills around it abound with ore yielding thirty or thirty-five per cent. of pure metal. I reserve for a future chapter, such observations as may occur as to the products of the Styrian and other mines and the commerce resulting from them. In the mean time I will only here observe, that although the ore is so abundant, and the price of labour so low, it is a great error to suppose, as some have done, that the Styrian can, under ordinary circumstances, compete with the English manufacturer, in the generality of foreign markets.

Descending from the height, on the southern side, we reached Vordenberg, a place of forges, dirty and smoky, but situated in a pleasing country: and here, in a quiet-looking unostentatious house, resides the Archduke John during the greater part of the year. At the time of our passing through the town his Imperial Highness was absent, and it was not until our arrival several months afterwards at Grätz, that we had the opportunity of presenting our introductions to that most patriotic and excellent prince. We now proceeded to Leoben, a cheerful handsome town; and thence through the fine vale of the Mur to Brück, where we passed a day with much satisfaction. The town is sweetly situated, and the hotel comfortable. The people are a hardy

mountain race, with coarse features, and much deformed by goitres.

At Brück we were on the high-road from Grätz to Vienna, but we had not yet become satiated with Styrian scenery ; and we determined, before proceeding to the capital, to visit the shrine and the iron-works of Mariazell, by a road which branches off among the mountains from Brück, and traverses Aflenz and Seewiesen. It is a road little travelled, and extremely rugged ; but one on which post-horses can be procured. The distance of four and a quarter Austrian posts, or about forty English miles, between Brück and Mariazell, is divided into two long stages of twenty miles each, the first of which, as far as Seewiesen, abounds in a variety of picturesque beauty, delightful even to us who had so lately seen the vale of Enns. At Seewiesen we were detained some time for horses, for few are kept at this secluded station ; and if perchance, as was our case, two carriages arrive nearly together, the probability is, that the one party or the other must amuse themselves, as well as they may, for an hour or two, amid the grand display of nature around them. From Seewiesen we crossed a lofty mountain by a very difficult and rugged road, and it was late in the evening before we reached the term of our pilgrimage.

Two or three miles from Mariazell, are the most important iron-foundries in the Austrian empire ; supplied with iron-ore from a mine seven or eight

miles distant, the ore of which yields, on an average, 35 per cent. of pure metal. Every species of casting is here executed—the largest cannon, the boilers, and cylinders, and other machinery of steam-engines—as also necklaces, groups of flowers, and other ornamental works so minute and delicate, as to rival those of Berlin. These latter, however, are very rarely made, and are exhibited only as evidences of what *can* be done. The forges are heated with charcoal; and hence the works have far less of that dark sooty appearance, which we are accustomed to notice in England. The great blasting bellows has a cylinder six feet and a half in diameter; and is worked by the power of water. In one part of the buildings we saw the operation of casting and polishing a cannon; in another, the machines for boring them; and in a third, were men employed in finishing portions of steam-engine machinery intended for vessels on the Danube, under the direction of an English engineer. These works owe their origin to the Benedictine monks of St. Lambrecht, an abbey situated in Southern Styria, on the confines of Carinthia. The woods, the mines, the whole of the vale of Aflenz, and the district of Mariazell, were the property of the abbey. The fathers established the works about the year 1740, and carried them on for their own account; until the reforming ordinance of Joseph, in 1788, abolished the community,—drafted its members into other houses of the order,—and seized the whole of their

estates. The edifice itself has been restored as a monastic residence by Francis II.; but the tithes and various rents have passed to the religious chest; the domains of Aflenz and Mariazell, have been assumed by the Crown; and the foundries are now conducted for government account.

The number of men immediately attached to these works is about three hundred; to which may be added four hundred more, employed in and about the mine whence the iron is derived. But, directly or indirectly, as cutters of wood, bakers of charcoal, carriers and labourers, these foundries are a principal source of provision for all the country round. In going over Austrian works of this description, the observer marks with surprise the paucity of machinery, and the great amount of work performed by manual labour. For the three hundred hands employed at Mariazell, probably not a third would find occupation in an English foundry of equal extent; and, at the same time, the amount of product might be ten times greater. Neither is manual labour itself turned to its just account. A dull heavy regularity pervades all the operations of the Austrian workman. His wages enable him to eat and drink and smoke to his heart's content; and he is never made to feel the immense value of time. Still, although it is evident that great improvements might and should be made in the excitement and direction of manual energy, we must pause ere we venture to pronounce that the interests of Styria, or the empire



generally, would be benefited by the institution of extensive machinery. That goods would be produced at a lower money price, and with greater rapidity of execution, cannot be doubted; and that an increase of national wealth, in the mere *pecuniary* sense of the word, would be the result, is highly probable. This, however, would be accompanied, in the first instance, by the wide-spread misery of thousands of families now in a thriving condition: and, although experience is said to demonstrate that new branches of profitable industry arise to compensate for every such disorder, yet the period of transition is always one of bitter suffering. In England, such periods of distress have been supported through the instrumentality of our poor-laws, which have, hitherto at least, preserved from absolute starvation the immediate victims of every change: but in Austria no such resource exists. Increased taxation for the relief of paupers would, on the one hand, produce universal discontent; and, on the other, misery would engender habits of idleness and profligacy. The social system of Austria hangs together by a cementing principle, which in England may be little admired and little understood;—a principle of attachment to the existing government and order of things, resulting from a general sense of physical comfort and of moral content. In the event of any change whereby discontent were engendered, the government must alter its character. It must abandon its indulgence to exercise its terrors; and in the same proportion

would it become weak. Hence the caution it evinces in the adoption of any important change. It wishes that the people should be wealthy, but not cease to be happy. One species of amelioration, indeed, every consideration of policy would persuade; and this is the improvement of the internal communications. Canals and other water-carriage scarcely exist; and the roads of Styria are strange for a country where the heaviest articles of iron, even cannon and steam-engines, are conveyed in carts and waggons drawn by horses or oxen. Huge mountains are climbed and descended, where the comparatively level course of rivers might have been followed; and even where the roads are conducted along the valley, instead of being constructed near the margin of the stream, they seem, with a sort of perverse ingenuity, to have been wantonly carried up over every inequality which forms the sides—ever descending to the water's edge, only to rise again to a height of several hundred feet above. In a region so mountainous as Styria, the formation of railroads must be a matter of great difficulty, and of very improbable remunerating profit: but no great outlay of capital, or exertion of genius, would be required to improve the more ordinary communications—to remove small obstructions—to carry roads round projecting eminences instead of over them—to relinquish the mountain for the valley at its base—and so to improve the channels of rivers, as to render several of them adequate for the purpose of useful commercial transport.

## CHAPTER VII.

Mariazell—Locality and Population—History of the Shrine—The Church and Treasures—Ecclesiastical Establishment—Number and Conduct of the pilgrims—Arrival of one Company—General Character of the Devotional Service—Leave Mariazell—Anna-berg, Durnitz, Lilienfeld—Condition of the People of Upper Styria and Upper Austria—Farms, Products, Rural Industry—Peculiar Habits and Tendencies—General Character—Monastery of Mlk—Its Situation, Establishment, and approaching Festivities—Ineffectual attempts to follow the course of the Danube—Great Market at St. Polten—Arrive at Vienna.

MARIAZELL, the Loretto of Austria, is a small Styrian village, about ninety English miles from Vienna, situated in a mountain district, at an elevation of about two thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The hills immediately around it are not high; and their bright green covering of meadow and wood must give them in the summer a picturesque and pleasing appearance: but in the severer season, from October to May, when no pilgrims arrive, and the labours of the field are suspended, the fixed inhabitants, about nine hundred in number, drag on a dreary and desolate existence. Some few may be employed in the neighbouring iron-works, and some few in those mechanical occupations which never

entirely cease: but the greater number subsist on the savings from their summer gains, and solace themselves with the hope of another harvest from periodical devotion.

The history of pilgrimage shrines exhibits in every country a great conformity of character,—a mixture of sincerity with imposture in the directing clergy; of piety with profligacy in the penitent laity. In the darkness of the middle ages, it was perhaps no unnatural credulity, which led to the supposition that some remission of future punishment would reward the zeal of the crusader, who devoted his life and his wealth to the object of rescuing from the power of the infidels the holy sepulchre of our Lord. The hope of similar indulgence was extended to all, who should encounter the privations and the perils which in that period attended foreign travel, with the pious purpose of visiting the scene of our Saviour's passion: and Palestine was inundated with pilgrims from Europe. No circumstance could have been so favourable to the extension of papal power, as this general prevalence of an ardent but ignorant piety. On the hypothesis of purgatory, new systems of doctrine were erected and promulged; indulgences were multiplied *ad infinitum*; and the popes, who assumed to themselves the power of their concession, diverted from Palestine to Italy the current of devotional wealth, by attaching to Italian shrines the same plenitude of remission, which had been previously sought in the East. These exclusive ad-

vantages, however, were of short duration. Sovereigns became jealous of the perpetual emigration of their subjects: and bulls were obtained from the favour, or extorted from the fears, of the popes, creating shrines of equal indulgence in every Christian country. Shrines now became rivals for the preference of devotees. The mendicant friars, by whom they were chiefly directed, vied with each other in the invention of lying legends and false miracles, to sustain the reputation of their respective altars; and impious imposture was allied with mercenary fraud, to delude and debase the mind of man. The Dukes of Styria and Austria felt, like other sovereigns, the necessity of a place of pilgrimage within their own dominions; but its management has remained exclusively under Benedictine control; and hence it probably arises, that the history and observances of Mariazell, however resting on an erroneous and superstitious faith, evince a remarkable distinction of character from those of all other devotional shrines which I have had the opportunity of visiting.

The narrative circulated on the spot, and taught to the penitents and the public, is simply this:—The vale of Aflenz, with all the surrounding country, was in early times an endowment of the Benedictine abbey of St. Lambrecht, whence several missionary priests proceeded annually into these wild regions to comfort and instruct the few scattered inhabitants. About the year 1150, one of these priests established himself in a wooden hut, having with him a small

image of the Madonna, to which he appeared to be devoutly attached, and which was his constant companion. His little cell became the resort of all who required spiritual or temporal assistance; and, on his decease, his place was supplied by another father from the abbey. It was the church of the desert: and the general reputation of its sanctity may well account for the dream of a certain Margrave of Moravia, who, in 1202, conceived himself directed to repair to the hut of the missionary, to return thanks for his recovery from an afflicting illness. The Margrave replaced the wooden hut by one of stone, built precisely of the same form and dimensions, and placed therein the favourite image. In 1363, Louis I. of Hungary erected over it a church, enclosing within the nave the little stone hut. Shortly afterwards the same indulgences were attached to it, as to St. Peter's at Rome; and thenceforward it became crowded with pilgrims innumerable. The earlier princes of the House of Hapsburg were among its most liberal benefactors: Maria Theresa performed every year her devotions at its altar: but, during the long reign of the late Emperor Francis, I believe it could not boast a single imperial visit. Such is the simple story of the shrine. The narrative, sold on the spot for the use of the faithful, ingenuously avows that the name of the priest who brought the statue, the mode of his coming, and whether he built or found his hut, are all unknown. As regards the image, nothing is related of its origin;

not a single miracle is ascribed to it, nor one supernatural circumstance suggested in the whole narrative; for the mere dream of the Margrave of Moravia can hardly be considered as such, and is not so represented. This remarkable simplicity of character, as compared with that of other shrines, may fairly be ascribed to the influence of the Benedictines;—an order too learned to believe, and too respectable to invent, such idle and impious legends as disgrace the Dominican and Franciscan establishments; and too opulent to seek, by unworthy means, to wring money from the hands of credulous penitents. Around the church there are none even of the usual penitentiary stations. There are indeed shops for the sale of rosaries, crosses, and small images; but there seem to be no materials for any extra superstitious observances. The small wooden figure within the shrine, the “Gnaden Statue,” or statue of Grace, is of wood, eighteen inches high, representing the Virgin with the Child on her knee, both arrayed in gorgeous apparel, and with crowns of sparkling diamonds on their heads. Certainly the holy image has been a poor protectress of the place. Six times has the entire town been destroyed by fire, and its inhabitants temporarily reduced to ruin. The last conflagration was in 1827, when, out of a hundred and eleven houses, twenty only were saved, and a hundred and fifteen families were driven out, naked and foodless, on a cold November night. The church has always more or less suffered on these occasions,

and has been several times wholly or partially rebuilt. It has been, moreover, more than once desecrated by the Turks; and twice, in later times, by the French, who converted the sacred buildings to military purposes. Neither the treasure nor the statue could they obtain, as these had been previously removed into Hungary.

The church, as it now stands, is of Roman architecture, except the porch, which is Gothic—a relic, and almost the only one, of the earlier buildings. It is a spacious edifice, two hundred and eighty-six English feet by ninety-nine in internal dimensions, and surmounted by a spire, two hundred and seventy-five feet in height. Its side-altars and chapels are, some of them, handsomely decorated; but its principal object of devotion is of course the stone inclosure—the fac-simile of the ancient hut which stands now in the centre of the great nave, and contains the sacred statue. The treasury *was* rich; but the necessities of later times, frequent repairs and restorations, and contributions to the state during the wars, have much impoverished it. Still we found some few objects of value: one enormous topaz, probably five to six inches in diameter, presented by Joseph I.; a diamond cross, from Maria Theresa; and a handsome chalice, set with gems, from one of the Esterhazy family. The present Emperor Ferdinand presented, in 1834, I presume on his accession, a necklace of large pearls with a diamond pendant: but the treasury can exhibit no donation from the late Emperor



Francis, nor, I believe, from any one of the present archdukes. Of other objects, there are several from Maria Theresa; two plain silver candlesticks, of four branches each, from Don Miguel of Portugal; and the dried-up, ghastly-looking bodies of two holy martyrs, each covered with a network dress adorned with fine pearls, presented by popes. I believe, however, that the pontiffs only sent the bodies: the dresses were furnished elsewhere.

The ecclesiastical establishment of Mariazell consists of about twenty resident priests, deputed from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht, who here form a kind of subsidiary Benedictine college under the immediate government of a Pro-rector. Among them are fathers understanding the German, Slavonic, Hungarian, Italian, and other languages, which may enable them to communicate with the penitents from the various districts of the empire; and during one half of the year they all find abundant employ. From the beginning of May until the end of September, scarcely a day passes without witnessing the arrival and departure of some company of pilgrims. Most of the towns of any importance in Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Bohemia, and Moravia, to which may be added some few of the western parts of Hungary, have their stated days in every year on which the devotees assemble, and, after the manner described by our Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, form their processions of piety and pleasure to the holy shrine. I have now before me a list of seventy-

one places in the provinces just mentioned, each with its appointed day : besides which, numerous others send their tributary streams at less regular periods, to swell the aggregate numbers. From Vienna proceed four distinct parties ; three in June or July, and one in August ; the last of which, the most numerous of the four, generally consists of about three thousand persons of both sexes and all ages, travelling chiefly on foot, and performing the journey in four days. From the circumstance of the imperial family having for nearly half a century stood generally aloof from these religious wanderings, it may be inferred that the government regards them with no favourable eye ; although, in accordance with its usual policy, it cautiously abstains from any direct interference with popular custom or feeling : but, be this as it may, no considerable diminution of numbers has been yet observed. In 1834 the arrivals exceeded eighty-five thousand ; in the two preceding years they had been somewhat less, and such was also the case in the one which followed ; but the average yearly influx into Mariazell may still be taken at full eighty thousand pilgrims. Forming their respective companies, they travel along, sometimes for hundreds of miles, a motley group jumbled together without any regularity, until they reach the boundary of the holy precincts, marked by a column about an English mile from the shrine. Here they halt ; and some hours are generally occupied in marshalling the confused assemblage into regular

devotional order. Banners are unfurled ; sacred emblems exposed to view ; the maidens and the youths are placed in the van of the procession, after whom follow the elder devotees, male and female, in distinct parties : and thus they advance to the church by slow and measured steps, stopping at certain appointed stations on the way, and chanting in their native tongue, whatsoever it may be, some one of the litanies in general chorus. It was to us a matter of regret, that the season had now passed by for all the regular and considerable processions. Those that still dropped in were few and unimportant ; and of such we had the opportunity of witnessing one arrival only. It consisted of twenty-one persons, men and women, in nearly equal numbers. They seemed all poor and weary ; each with a bundle, probably of clothes, at the back. They came forward two and two, chanting in German the litany of Loretto ; and, after a short prostration at the altar, retired to one of the humbler inns, where they passed the evening singing in chorus devotional chants with much apparent vehemence. In the church on the following morning was a succession of services between the hours of six and twelve : and there I observed, besides the party lately arrived, a good many other penitents of all ages ; some young boys and mere children ; others bowed down with the infirmities of years—all who were able to do so joining in the choral responses very loudly, and generally with melodious effect. Many performed the circuit of the

holy chapel on their knees, upon the pavement of the aisle, and many crowded round its entrance, pressing for admission to the image within: but upon the whole there was less appearance of devotion, than I have been in the habit of seeing in the churches of Austria or in Roman Catholic countries generally. Pilgrimages, in fact, such as these, performed in large companies, cannot, from their very nature, be often productive of even temporary piety. If they be undertaken from penitential feeling, as it is fair to suppose may be most frequently the case, that feeling will mainly evaporate amid the bustle and adventure and social intermixture of the journey: neither will it be restored by the scenes of exciting novelty with which the journey closes. The multitudes who form the larger processions I believe to be very irregular. Arriving by thousands in a day, they fill to suffocation every inn and house of accommodation within the town; and the larger portion are still obliged to bivouac in the fields around. Yet here, at Mariazell, is no military station; and it is rare to see a soldier in any of the neighbouring districts. That no disturbance of the public peace occurs; that no political machinations ever result, or indeed are ever apprehended, from this annual influx of eighty thousand heterogeneous wanderers into a small secluded town; is one striking evidence among many of the popular attachment to the ruling powers: but, from the records I have seen of the annual births, as well as from the consideration of other concomitant cir-

cumstances, which can be well imagined, I fear the professions of external devotion at Mariazell are by no means unsullied with private immorality.

Our pilgrimage was now concluded ; and the sharp autumnal cold of these comparatively elevated regions made us anxious to return to the vale of the Danube. Quitting Mariazell, our road towards Vienna wound over hills covered with pines ; and, by the aid alternately of extra horses and of double drags, we crossed the Sebastianberg, and the Joachimsberg, each about two thousand six hundred feet in height. At Mittenwald, a village situated between those two hills, and at which there is a church for the Protestant peasantry who are here very numerous, we passed from Styria into Lower Austria, and arrived at Annaberg, a town perched on a commanding eminence, in the church of which we observed an arrangement of holy figures, curious even for a place of Romish worship. They were of the size of life, representing two ladies dressed in pink silk covered with fine tissue, sitting on ordinary chairs, and having the youthful Saviour sitting in a lower chair between them. All had crowns on their heads. One of the figures was of course intended for the Madonna ; but here, contrary to usual custom, she had a companion in Saint Anne, the patroness of the town ; and, thus arrayed, occupying a deep recess, as it were a separate chamber, above the high altar, they suggested to the mind the involuntary idea of a quiet family party.

Our progress hitherto had been alternately up and down, but at Annaberg we took our final departure from the mountain regions. Having reached the immediate base of the hill on which the town is situated, by a very long and precipitous descent, we followed the course of a narrow deep ravine, amid splendid woodland scenery, and beside a mountain-torrent. Not far distant are some productive lead-mines and quarries of black marble ; and in the ravine, which can hardly be termed a vale, were many buildings for the manufacture of glass, and some other branches of human industry. Arriving at Durnitz, we were still about a thousand feet above the level of the Danube at Vienna, but already perceived the evidences of a more genial climate. In lieu of the alpine vegetations we had left, we found oaks, elms, and fruit-trees. The air had a soft and genial feel, to which we had been for some time strangers ; and I remember Durnitz with pleasure, although we were there detained more than an hour for horses, much against our will. The place takes its name from the treasure it possesses, of a thorn\* from the crown of our Lord ; of which, however, a model or copy only is exhibited to the faithful in the church, the original thorn being enclosed within the solid masonry of the wall. I remember a similar instance of reverential prudence at Treves, in regard of a most precious relic, the coat without a seam ; which, having been restored to the cathedral after the stormy periods of war and revolution, was then, like

\* Durn—German for thorn.

the thorn of Durnitz, inserted within some part of the ponderous masonry, known only to the archbishop and one of the chapter ; and thus secured alike from the dangers of future removal, and the profaneness of sceptical inspection. From Durnitz we pursued our descending course, amid scenery still rich and pleasing, as far as Lilienfeld ; and bestowed a passing view on its Cistercian monastery, a large and imposing building. It was founded originally in 1202, by Leopold the Glorious, Duke of Austria and Styria, whose remains were brought hither from Italy for interment ; but of the ancient buildings, the beautiful chapter-house, the noble dormitories, &c., fire and time have destroyed all, save a few scattered remains. The church, however, is handsome, and the monastery has a cabinet of natural history and minerals, and some pictures. Shortly beyond Lilienfeld ceased all the beauty of our journey. A tedious stage of nearly twenty miles over a dreary open plain, gradually sloping to the banks of the Danube, and chiefly without a tree or an inclosure, brought us to the town of St. Polten, where we were on the high-road to Vienna from western Germany.

Taking a general view of the regions which constitute a considerable portion of the provinces of Upper Styria and Upper Austria, the condition of the people is more thriving than the nature of their soil might lead us to anticipate. In the mining districts the lowest workman has twenty-five to thirty

kreutzers c.m., equal to from tenpence to one shilling per day, and increasing gradually upwards; besides which all have wood and generally lodging gratis, with small patches of ground, for vegetables, attached to the dwelling of each family. In every place where any considerable mining or foundry work, exists, a government store is established, from whence the operatives are enabled to purchase, at what may be called average production cost, all the necessities of life: the prices being so regulated as to be greatly below those of the general markets in times of scarcity, and hardly, if at all, above them at other periods. Schools are established for the children, and hospitals for the sick; and in all of the numerous establishments belonging to the government, as generally in private ones also, the sick who remain in their dwellings receive gratuitous medical aid, and the aged superannuations.\* The agricultural property is held by small farmers, principally occupied in the breeding and tending cattle, and the management of the dairy. The climate is too cold for vines: but apple and other fruit-trees are so abundant in the sheltered localities, especially of Upper Austria, as to have acquired for that province the somewhat exaggerated designation of "the garden of the empire." Corn is raised, principally rye and oats, in some of the valleys; very in-

\* In a future chapter, where a description is given of Idria, the reader will find a detailed account of the system adopted for the mining community, and which, with small modifications, exists in all the mining establishments of the empire.



sufficient, however, for the internal consumption : and hence the culture of potatoes, introduced some years since by the Archduke John, is becoming every year more extensive. In the Salzburg district, horses are bred in great numbers and of good quality. Elsewhere, the cow is the most important animal ; after which come the swine and goats ; and here and there a few flocks of sheep are kept, but they are rare and poor. Every farmer has, generally speaking, his homestead in the valley, where he and his family reside, and where the cattle are housed during the winter ; and also his mountain pastures far detached, to which the cattle are driven in the spring, and whence they return in the autumn. During their stay in the higher regions, they are accompanied by a tribe of hinds and milk-maids, who occupy small wooden buildings, (one, at least, of which is attached to every property,) all on the same plan ; each consisting of a dairy and a kitchen, with a loft above, which, with a division if necessary, serves the purpose of the common dormitory. As the conclusion of the vintage is the popular festival of France, and the harvest-home of England, so the return of the cattle to the valleys is that of Alpine Austria. In the valley of the Enns we met several such groups, who were pacing along with a sort of sober joy. First came the favourite cow—the leader of the herd—her head and horns decorated with a profusion of red and green ribbons, and streamers of gaudy gilded paper. The rest of the herd followed ; restrained from the

presumption of passing the leader, by the occasional interposition of the staves of their attendants: while on the flanks and in the rear were the men and the maidens; their cheeks blooming with mountain-roses, and their garbs of flaunting colours, green, red, and blue, the greater part of which, however, evinced abundant need of winter reparation.

Agricultural labourers, in the English sense of the word, are very few. The wages of such as there are, vary from fourpence to sixpence sterling per day, with certain allowances of food: but the holdings are small, and the labour is done chiefly by the farmer's own family, and a few dependants, who are as it were adopted inmates, receiving food and clothing, but little or nothing in money payment. In districts so extensive, and in a population so diversified, the diet, as well as other circumstances of life, must materially differ: but it may be said of the people in the aggregate, mining and agricultural, that they live well. Milk and porridge, oats and rye, bread, potatoes, and garden vegetables, rendered nourishing though greasy by an abundant infusion of lard, are of universal use; and few there are who do not besides take meat at least three times a-week, which is usually beef or pork, smoked and cured. They are naturally gourmands; and, in comparison with the rest of the Germans, spend an undue proportion of their means on food and tobacco: and hence it arises that, in some of the more elevated regions, especially in the entire territory of Salzburg,

the dwellings have much the appearance of poverty and discomfort. Privations, which are mainly attributable to their peculiar habits, and over-indulgence in other points of expenditure, are thus often ascribed to the pressure of the land-tax on a soil so poor: but in those essentials of life—food, clothing, and fuel—the condition of the poorest districts is little calculated to excite the commiseration of those who have viewed the state of corresponding classes in other mountain-countries: and the highlands generally have the advantage, in the neighbouring province of Lower Austria, of a never-failing market for their surplus products, and a source of cheap supply for their very limited wants.

We had now quitted the highlands, and all their beauteous scenery. St. Polten is situated at a short distance from the Danube, on that great plain, which, with slight undulations, extends along its southern bank far into Hungary: and willingly would we have taken our shortest course across this uninteresting flat to Vienna, but for one object which still attracted us in the opposite direction. This was the Benedictine monastery of M<sup>o</sup>lk, one of the most splendid religious houses in Europe; distant about thirteen English miles from St. Polten, on the high-road towards Linz. Its buildings and gardens crown and cover an insulated ridge of granite, rising a hundred and eighty feet above the Danube, which flows at its base. It may consequently be seen from

a considerable distance : and, as we viewed its commanding position on our gradual approach, and afterwards from the small town at the foot of the rock gazed on its grand façade, four stories in height and sixty-one windows in length, extending along the brow of the high perpendicular cliff, it seemed hard to imagine that this stately pile had been constructed for the residence of a few religious recluses. Neither does the interior of the structure belie the expectations formed from its external aspect. It is of Italian architecture, erected principally in the earlier part of the last century ; for, of the more ancient buildings, some of which dated as far back as the year 988, scarcely a vestige now remains. The courts, corridors, and galleries, as well as the various apartments leading from them, are lofty, spacious, and handsome. Forty-two chambers, large and well-furnished, are kept for the use of visitors only, who, at stated periods of commemorations or of chapters, may pass a few days in the convent. The great refectory, used only on state occasions ; the hall of banquets, which of late years has never been used at all ; the more ordinary refectories of the monks and of the students,—are all spacious noble rooms ; and the entire building is kept in the most perfect and elegant order. Although called on for frequent and heavy contributions during the wars with France, Mölk has not, like Admont, been reduced to pecuniary suffering. The buildings, the gardens, the arrangements of every kind, evince the superintend-

ence of an affluent establishment; yet the museums and cabinets, of which there are several, disappointed my expectations. The natural-history department contains a very fair collection of general mineralogy, and some fine specimens of various crystals, but few objects deserving of especial notice; and the library is very far inferior to that of Admont, both as to the apartment and the books; although, as in all monastic libraries, there may be found here among the incunabula and the manuscripts some objects of interest. But if Admont may boast of its library, so may Mölk of its church, the walls and ceiling of which, covered with excellent fresco paintings and splendid gildings, render it a masterpiece of gorgeous decoration.

The full establishment of Mölk consists of ninety fathers, of whom the greatest part are, according to usual practice, filling offices in universities, academies, and vicarages. Thirty-two only are resident; all of them, except a few who are extremely aged, employed in college offices or tuition. They have here the gymnasium for the town and district of Mölk, as also schools of theology and of general education. About fifty youths are lodged and boarded within the monastery, a few of whom are intended for holy orders, and are supported and instructed gratuitously, but the others are sons of wealthy families, who pay for their board and instruction, and receive education in classics and general learning. We had arrived,

unfortunately, too late to partake of the hospitality of the fathers. They were just on the point of concluding their repast, and were seated at a long table in one of the smaller refectories, about forty in number, including several strangers. In other refectories were the students dining with a great number of strangers, many of them ladies, their parents or close connexions: for this was the day of "breaking-up;" and ladies, old and young, had flocked to the monastery to receive their sons and brothers. A few days afterwards was to be held the grand chapter of the year; and about the same period great festivals would be held. The gardens were to be illuminated; and dancing and feasting were to rejoice the hearts of the fathers and their guests, and all the population of the town and district around. It was the fiftieth annual return of that day, on which the lord abbot had first taken the monastic vows; and it was also the fiftieth anniversary of the marriage of two of the lord abbot's earliest friends. The good old couple were to visit the monastery, and, as it was jocularly said, were to renew their mutual pledge of faith. The people of the country around were in high anticipation of the joyous ceremonials. Many among them gravely assured us that, on so peculiar an occasion, the fathers themselves would join in the waltz and the quadrille. Their hopes may have been in this respect, perchance, disappointed: but, if they were deprived of witnessing such a display of

Benedictine merriment, they will have had, at all events, an abundant enjoyment of Benedictine hospitality and kindness.

On leaving Mölk, we made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Vienna by following the course of the river, in preference to proceeding by the line of the high-road which runs at some distance from it. The country bordering on the Danube, from Ulm, where it may be said to become first navigable for barges, until its final termination in the Black Sea, is generally flat and devoid of picturesque effect : but to this, its more usual character, there are some splendid exceptions. Such is the pass near Orsova in Hungary ;—such are those extending from Passau to Linz,—and from Grens, twenty miles above Mölk, to about the same distance below it, where the antique castle of Durnnstein, the stronghold wherein our first Richard was immured on his return from the Holy Land, still crowns the lofty crag which terminates a range of mountains. From Mölk to Durnnstein, or rather to the bridge of Stein, where the Danube may be crossed just below it, a rude country road exists, by which the postmaster gave us his opinion that we should reach Durnnstein in four or five hours. We attempted it accordingly, and persevered in our course for some considerable distance. The scenery around us was very fine ; it made us almost regret that we had not retrograded as far as Linz, there to embark

on the river for Vienna, which the want of proper barges for hire prevented our doing at Mölk;—for we soon perceived that our present attempt must be abandoned. The road, very narrow, very steep, encumbered with huge fragments of stone which labourers were toiling to remove, and in many parts fearfully overhanging the river, was more really dangerous than any other which we had yet traversed. With some difficulty we succeeded in getting the carriage turned round; and, retracing our course to Mölk, were glad to resume the usual road. At St. Polten we stopped to notice one of those extensive agricultural displays, which more frequently attend a market in Eastern than in Western Europe; where very large quantities of produce are brought in bulk for sale, and remain in the vehicles of their import until purchasers be found. Flour was here the principal article. The sacks were deposited in carts and light waggons, regularly ranged in files and ranks, filling the large square of the town. The horses or oxen by which they had been drawn remained attached to each vehicle; and these, being considerably more than two hundred in number, and occupying a much more important space than the vehicles behind them, conveyed the first idea of a cattle-fair rather than a market. From St. Polten the distance to Vienna is less than forty miles: the road passes through numerous and populous villages, and is at times diversified with the view of hills, near



and distant, the beauty of which has been sometimes extolled ; but to us, who had so lately descended from the highlands, the general aspect of the country was tame and uninteresting ; and we rejoiced when the moment arrived that we entered the capital of the Austrian Empire.

## CHAPTER VIII.

VIENNA—Extent—Population—City and Suburbs—Climate—Resources—Character of the People—Society—Feudal Ceremonials—Hungarian and German Guard—Presence of the highest Authority at Fires—Habits of the Emperor—Public Library—Early Printed Works—Manuscripts—Tabulæ Peutingerianæ—Imperial Museums, Cabinets, and Collections—Gallery of Ambras—Private Collections—Imperial and Private Galleries of Paintings—Imperial Treasure—Regalia of Charlemagne—Crowns of Bohemia, Hungary, &c.—Theseium and Group of Canova—Imperial Vault—The Emperor Nicholas at Vienna.

THE first aspect of Vienna, considered as the metropolis of a mighty state, is not perhaps unlikely to create some disappointment. The high and commanding walls of well-cemented brick-work, which twice arrested the victorious progress of the Turks and formed the bulwark of Christendom, still remain entire,—although their broad summit is no longer mounted with cannon, but converted into public promenades; and within their small circumference is comprised the *Stadt*, the city, properly so called. The suburbs, or *Vorstädte*, extend far and wide around; separated from the walls by a space once covered with military outworks and defences, but now laid out in walks and plantations. In these are situated the immense barracks, the stores and maga-

zines of all sorts for the supply of the capital ; and the abodes generally of the artisans and manufacturers of every class ; as also some very few villapalaces and gardens of the higher nobles. Including the suburbs, which are about fourteen English miles in circuit, the population of Vienna amounts to three hundred and thirty thousand, of which not more than an eighth part are comprised within the walls of the city : and yet within this small inner space, around the entire circuit of which I have often walked in fifty minutes, are contained almost every object of interest or importance : — the imperial palace, the offices of government, the residences of all the higher classes, nobles, bankers, lawyers, &c. ; all the superior shops ; most of the public museums, libraries, and galleries ; and, with one exception, all the good hotels.

Hence it necessarily results, that the houses are extremely lofty, and the streets narrow, crowded, and confined. Almost wholly excluded from the solar rays, there is in them, save in the warmest weather, a damp and chilly feel. The shops, excellent as to their contents, are small and dark ; apartments and houses expensive, compared with those in other German capitals ; and the hotels usually so crowded, as to afford very inadequate accommodation to the multitude of strangers who are constantly arriving. In the same manner as at Paris, numerous families occupy separate suites of apartments in huge edifices, which, although termed and registered as single houses, rather resemble in form our inns of court. They contain pile upon pile, court within court ; and

are of such vast extent, that one among them, which I had often occasion to pass, contains inmates to the number of more than two thousand persons.

At the south-west extremity of the city, and close within the line of wall, stands the imperial palace—a huge, gloomy, ill-shapen mass, erected at different periods from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century—containing extensive suites of rooms for the sovereign and other members of the imperial family; all of which evince, in the simplicity of their furniture and decorations, the unostentatious tastes of the Austrian princes. The state apartments, with their ancient gilding and faded velvet hangings, remain in the same state as in the time of Maria Theresa. They are low and dark, facing, as do nearly all the suites, the large inner quadrangle of the palace; and not far from them, with the same dull prospect from the windows, are the plain simple rooms in which the late Emperor Francis lived and died. His successor has evinced a better taste, in selecting and rendering habitable a suite of apartments in that one frontage, whence alone the view from the windows extends above the wall and across the new plantations. They are airy and cheerful; and although by no means extensive, elegantly fitted up for private comfort.

The palaces of the higher nobility have generally somewhat of the gloom which characterises that of the sovereign. They are seen extending along the dark narrow streets, undetached from humbler residences, and distinguished from them chiefly by their superior extent and elevation, the great size of

their windows, and the lofty porte cochère conducting to the inner court, at the entrance of which stands the stately porter, with his silver-headed baton in his hand, and arrayed in the antique livery of his house. The apartments within contain frequently treasures of art, and solid grandeur of ornament and decoration, unequalled in any other continental capital: but air and light are blessings, which no wealth can purchase in the city of Vienna.

Such is the small and crowded space wherein are centred the business and the pleasures of Viennese life. The pent-up inhabitants escape at times to breathe a somewhat purer air on the *Prater*, and other closely contiguous promenades, which, like the parks of London, constitute the lungs of the metropolis; but they have little inducement to extend their rides or their walks beyond them. The country for several miles around is dreary and devoid of interest; and of the roads immediately beyond the gates of the suburbs, it is no exaggeration to say, that they are worse than those in the vicinity of any capital in Europe. I shall not easily forget my first peregrination upon them on foot, shortly after my arrival, in company with a very dear and lamented friend.\*

\* The late John Musgrave, Esq., brother of Sir R. Musgrave, bart., M.P. for the county of Waterford—a man in whom the energies of public practical usefulness were so combined with the virtues and affections of private life, that it may be doubted whether his country or his friends have the greater cause to bewail their common bereavement.

We sallied forth by the high-road to Prague, in search of the Danube, of the distance of which from the walls we had not that accurate knowledge which we ought to have obtained, and we conceived it to be less than it really was. To some distance we staggered on, supporting each other as best we could, on the summit of a low mound of thick tenacious clay, which deserved the name of foot-path only in comparison with the broad expanse of half solid mud which lay beneath at our side. As we advanced, we met waggons carts and other vehicles, toiling heavily along, and often arrested by a plunge of the wheel into some deep hole in the abyss, where they remained fixed until extra help could be obtained. Ere long we had occasion to attempt a crossing, which we effected, borne aloft by some passing pedestrians, all of whom, male and female, were protected by high leather boots reaching up to the knee. A subsequent traverse however we found quite impracticable, and were glad to mount upon a market cart, whereon, after many a plunge and many a half prostration, we at length regained the gate from which we had emerged; and it was not until some time afterwards that we obtained a view of the river, flowing along in a broad muddy shallow yet rapid current, between avenues of floating windmills, which line its bank below the bridges as far as the eye can reach.

The climate, too, is most unpropitious. The latitude is indeed only  $48^{\circ} 12''$ , but the height of the

city above the level of the sea is rather more than four hundred English feet; and the country extending eastward from it down into Hungary is a dreary flat, swept by outrageous winds, which are rarely obstructed even by a cottage or a tree. Alternations from heat to cold and from cold to heat, occur two or three times in the course of a day, and this nearly throughout the year. The narrow streets preclude any benefit from the sun, even when he shines; and in dry weather the clouds of dust are intolerable. The mean temperature of winter is  $7^{\circ}$  to  $9^{\circ}$  *minus* of Reaumur, equal to  $12^{\circ}$  or  $16^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; and when we left Vienna on an excursion into Hungary, early in November, there had been already ice and snow for several days. It was curious then to see what defences the people were already adopting against the severity they anticipated. The horses of the private carriages, and often of the public ones, had on their complete body-clothing in the streets. The workmen and labourers on the roads were clad in untanned sheep-skin coverings, with the wool and fur on them. The people sitting in the carts looked like huge masses of woollen goods, enveloped in fold after fold, stiff and motionless. All was in appearance severe winter, although in fact the thermometer was not then more than two degrees of Fahrenheit below the freezing point. The Danube, of which a very inconsiderable branch has been artificially brought to pass near the walls of the city, but whose great mass of waters flows in three

broad channels at a distance from them of two to three English miles, is hard frozen every winter; and the breaking up of the ice in spring is often attended with destruction to the bridges and wide inundations of the country around. The autumns, like the springs, are cold and precarious; and although extensive vineyards are seen in the plain around the city, yet it frequently occurs, as we ourselves witnessed in 1835, that the fruit is unripened and in great part left to perish on the vines.

Yet, with all these disadvantages, few places possess such ample resources, such general means of enjoyment both intellectual and physical, with the exception only of climate and its conjuncts, as this imperial city. Its magnificent public library, scarcely inferior to any in Europe, its admirable scientific museums, are all open to the public; and this, not as is too often the case in other countries, nominally and ostentatiously only, but in a manner so perfect as to arrangements and accommodations, as to render them practically and generally useful. The theatres, the opera, the restaurateurs, are all excellent; and the gastronome, who has been writhing elsewhere under the sour and greasy inflictions of German cookery, may find ample compensation in the elegant and refined repasts of Vienna. The streets are crowded to excess with a lively, active, bustling population,—thus presenting (except perhaps as regards Munich) a striking contrast with the other capitals of Germany; and this may be ascribed partly to the general



pursuits of the place, whether as to business or pleasure, being confined within so small a space, and partly to the greater infusion of the Italian character. Nothing occurs either to annoy or to molest. Of the police, both in its immediate practice and in its connexion with other branches of the government, I shall take occasion to give a full account in a chapter separately devoted to that object: but here I may observe, that in no capital in Continental Europe does the stranger, whose passports are regular and conduct orderly, experience or perceive so little of its interference as he does at Vienna. No beggars are seen. No appearance of poverty meets the eye. In Vienna—and indeed this remark applies nationally to Germany at large more than it does to any other country—no one appears badly dressed. We learnt from master-tradesmen in every branch, that their work-people and apprentices expend very little in their food, and lodge generally three and four in a room, in order that they may be able, in respectability of appearance, to be equal to their superiors. Tractable, sober, and industrious, they are ever willing to work; and whatever be the faults of the Austrian character, these are assuredly in no-wise allied to the more harsh and unkindly feelings. How far that character has been created, and is conserved, by the practical genius of the government, will be the subject of future chapters; how far it may be in unison with the higher moral destinies of man, may be a matter on which opinions will differ:

but no impartial observer will hesitate to admit of the Viennese, and of the inhabitants of the circumjacent provinces, that they are a most happy and enjoying people. Frugal, cheerful, and contented, they seek no alteration in their condition ; they know little of their government but its mild and paternal influences ; and they dread change of any kind as fraught with evil. They see their princes mixing among them with all the simplicity and kindness of private citizens ; and they love them with an affection which they believe (and in my opinion justly believe) to be reciprocal. Their general tone of character forms them for tranquil enjoyment in themselves, and for promoting it in others : and of the lower classes, as well as the higher, I am bound to say that I have ever found them mild, kind, and obliging.

On the subject of society, the opinions of strangers will ever vary according to the class of natives to which they have had access, and their own capability of adaptation to the manners and pursuits of those with whom it is their fortune to associate. From the account given in a future chapter of the nature and privileges (such as they are) of Austrian nobility,\* it will be seen that the nobles form in

\* See Chapter I. of the 2nd Volume. The population of Vienna and its suburbs, 330,000 in number, comprises about 40,000 domestic servants, and 4300 employes of the government. Of resident nobles there are registered 4300 individuals, wherein are included 22 princely families, 70 families of counts, and 150 of barons ; the rest are simply noble.

some respects a distinct order ; that therein are comprised the several classes of princes, counts, and barons, and of simple nobles corresponding to the English denomination of gentlemen, in its former legal acceptance of persons authorised to bear arms ; that the will of the sovereign confers nobility, titled or untitled, at pleasure ; and that, among the more recent elevations, are many of the commercial and manufacturing classes, and some of the Hebrew religion ;—finally, that as nobility, with or without title, passes down alike with the blood to all descendants, many individuals of ancient rank and family become reduced, in the lapse of ages, to great poverty, and to the necessity of filling very subordinate stations. It will be understood, therefore, that mere nobility, titled or not, forms no passport to the good society of Vienna : but, on the other hand, Austria possesses a sort of distinct body among, or rather at the head of, her nobles, more analogous to the high aristocracy of England than are to be found in any other country,—persons of large landed estates, of great provincial influence, generally of high independent principles, elegant and luxurious habits, and very often sustaining a magnificence of establishments too costly even for their ample incomes. These men reside for some period of the year at their splendid country mansions in the provinces : they frequent the baths for some weeks ; and, during the winter and spring, a considerable number of them congregate in Vienna, where, with the foreign di-

plomatsists, they form a distinct society, inaccessible to natives of lower station, but into which foreigners, with proper introductions, will find a ready welcome; and where, once established, they will be received from house to house with a sort of fraternal hospitality. Below this highest class various others succeed;—each distinct in itself; each indulging a sort of happy self-complacency on regarding those below them; and, perhaps from the experience of its fruitlessness, little anxious to invade those above. In our own country we see something, and hear more, of the spirit of exclusiveness in certain classes. It must be so, and ought to be so, in large and varied populations: but the excess to which the practice is carried among the Germans, as regards themselves (for foreigners are very little subjected to it, and usually are unconscious of its existence), is said to be striking and curious. The necessity of filling a ball-room will sometimes compel a lady of high dignity to admit a small collection from the class below; but, even on such occasions, woe to the youth (unless his own rank be too exalted to bear a question) who shall be tempted to lead forth a beauty of the second class to the waltz: he will, as I have been informed (for no personal observation has led me to the statement), be a marked, and not improbably an excluded man, and doomed to descend to that class to which the lady of his admiration more properly belongs. Here, indeed, as in all places, the ladies form the rulers, and the principal objects, of etiquette. The

Austrian noble, however elevated his station, will accept, for himself alone, the dinner invitation of every banker and merchant; but in vain may the latter await an invitation in return, to the princely mansion in which the hostess is to do the honours.

Still it is not in the higher ranks of society that the characteristic spirit of German exclusiveness can be best observed. The outward expression of personal importance is usually found in every country to vary *inversely* in proportion to the actual dignity of the person. We must descend to the lower grades of nobles, and to the ranks below them,—we must perhaps quit the metropolis for the provincial capital and the country town,—before we find, in full perfection, that egregious personal vanity, that greediness of hereditary or official distinction, which impels the wife of the lowest public functionary to assume a rank and a title from her husband's petty office;—where “Mrs. Regimental-deputy-quarter-master” holds herself superior to “Mrs. Imperial-and-royal-districtual-tobacco-stamp-comptroller,” and where “Mrs. Princely-Schwarzenburgish-oak-plantations-surveyor” declines to associate with “Mrs. Prague-privileged-city-fish-market-tolls-deputy-collector.” Yet still, with all its absurdities, this general weakness of the German character is not without one advantage: it has the effect of dropping these title-loving people precisely into the sphere to which they properly belong, and in which, for the most part, they tranquilly remain.

To return to the higher class of Viennese society, it may be described as having more of quiet elegance, than of active pleasure. The hours, although late for Germany, are early as compared with those of London or Paris. Many of the great public functionaries dine at five, but the more usual time among the superior families is four.\* From half-past five till seven are paid and received what correspond to our "morning visits," and this is the time when the streets of Vienna are fullest of carriages. The opera and other theatres then commence, and last till ten; and families who do not repair thither, meet frequently in small private coteries, in easy unceremonious intercourse of conversation, music, and waltzing. The soirées of the high diplomatists and others, who are "at home," usually begin at ten and last till twelve or one; and at them there may be a whist-table, or a little music, or the never-failing waltz; but the time is more generally passed in conversation. If there be any period of gaiety at Vienna, it is during the Carnival, and for a few weeks after Easter; but even then the balls are not numerous, and the Court hardly receives at all, except on some few special days of etiquette. The middling classes retain their ancient habits;—they rise early; dine at one or two; sup at nine; and at ten the streets are almost wholly deserted, save by those coming home from the theatres, or the few going to the soirées.

\* The Emperor preserves the old national habit of dining at two.

To many of the larger properties in Hungary, and in the northern German dominions of Austria, is still ascribed the “*Jus Gladii*”—the right and the duty of administering criminal justice, or rather of commissioning the courts which administer it, under such regulations and supervisions, however,\* as deprive its exercise of all arbitrary power. On such domains, the proprietor is obliged to support some considerable body, probably several hundreds of armed men, for the purposes of police, and the execution of the law, who are regularly regimented and disciplined, and bear the livery or uniform of their lord. They do duty as sentries at his portal, and attend him on solemn occasions as his guard of state—and hence it is, that in the streets of Vienna may still be sometimes seen relics of feudal magnificence, which have passed away in all other parts of Europe. Such was the cortège which we one day witnessed of Prince Colloredo Mansfeld, on paying his respects at the palace, on the occasion of the emperor’s return from an absence in Bohemia. It commenced with four of his personal guards in dark green uniform, nearly covered with gold lace, and hussar caps, mounted on fine chargers. Next came two running footmen, bearing silver batons, in short full jackets and tight pantaloons of scarlet and silver; and followed by ten other men on foot, in gorgeous liveries, also of scarlet and silver, cocked hats, and white silk

\* See Chapter on Feudality and on Criminal Law in the second volume.

stockings, wherewith to paddle through the mud. Before or after them was a personage in a singular party-coloured suit, bearing somewhat the appearance of a theatrical buffoon. Then followed the state chariot, bearing the prince and an attendant officer; and drawn by six black horses, adorned with broad harness richly decorated with silver ornaments, trappings, and ribands. The carriage was antique in form, much gilded, and the upper side pannels were of glass. A few more mounted guards closed the procession.

Whensoever the emperor himself appears in state, he is attended by his German or his Hungarian guards, sometimes by both. They are both small but splendid cavalry corps; differing, however, considerably from each other in personal appearance. The German guard consists of seventy men, all officers, who have served, wearing rather heavy uniforms of scarlet, with black velvet collar and facings, richly trimmed with gold lace. The Hungarian is of sixty only; all youths of noble Hungarian families, who are appointed or recommended for this service by the Hungarian county meetings. They remain for three years in quarters at Vienna, where they are instructed gratuitously in all useful branches of science and learning, as well as in military tactics, and are then drafted into the army with the rank of lieutenants. They wear the light and elegant hussar uniform of their country; red in colour, with silver lace. The tiger skin hangs from their shoulder, and on their head is the high fur cap, bearing a white



aigrette. Much military efficiency cannot be expected from youths of their age and inexperience; but as these fine young men are seen in their brilliant uniforms caracolliug about the person of their sovereign, on chosen horses, light and elegant as themselves, they may well be deemed the most beautiful parade corps in Europe. Day and night a few of them, in conjunction with an equal number of the Germans, mount guard in the imperial ante-chamber, while the exterior duty of the palace is committed to a third body of special guards, composed of eighty men who have served as non-commissioned officers in the line; and in the court below horses are kept through the night, as through the day (among which, one especially for the emperor), ready saddled, in order to be used on any sudden emergency. One such emergency is the occurrence of any conflagration in the city; and I mention it here as illustrative of those usages, possibly introduced from the East into Hungary, and still adopted by the Hungarian sovereign in his Austrian residence. As at Constantinople, so in every town of the Austrian empire—when a fire breaks out, the highest authority of the place is required to be present to superintend its extinction. . While we were at Pesth such a calamity occurred on a stormy winter's night. The commander of the forces there in quarters immediately repaired to it, and remained in the streets, amid snow and wind, five hours, until it was subdued. At Vienna this duty rests on the emperor himself. A

horse, as I have just mentioned, is always kept saddled through the night at the palace for him to mount. On the alarm of fire he must be awakened ; and, supposing him not to be impeded by ill health, he mounts his horse, and accompanied by five of his Hungarian or German guard, goes forth to the scene of conflagration. The feeble health of the present emperor may probably prevent his fulfilment of this and of other duties for which personal exertion is required ; but as far as his powers extend it appears to be his desire to follow up the system and views of his deceased father.\* Like all the princes of his family, he is simple in his habits, unostentatious, frugal, and benevolent ; his tastes are quiet and domestic. Up to the period of our quitting Vienna, he had held no public levée nor private festivities, save for members of his family ; neither had any foreigner been presented to him since his accession, except such diplomatic agents as it was incumbent on him to receive to audience. His health, however, had much improved and was still improving. I have seen him for a couple of hours on horseback reviewing his troops ; and few days occurred, when the weather was fine, in which he might not be met taking his after dinner walk on the walls round the city, either arm in arm with the empress or accompanied by an

\* Fires are happily extremely rare in Vienna. Whenever they did occur the late emperor, as I have been informed, always supervised their extinction. Certainly he was present on several occasions in person.

aid-de-camp ; and in neither case with any other attendant. He was adopting, also, his father's habit of devoting a part of two days in every week to general receptions, in which the poorest of his subjects might approach him, and personally state their wishes and complaints. Neither his mind nor his body, however, were yet capable of any great fatigue ; and on all points of public business he relied mainly on the counsels of his uncle, the Archduke Louis, and of the Prince de Metternich.

It does not enter into my views to enumerate those multifarious objects of interest, which have been so amply described by pens more graphically endowed than my own,—but still, after having broadly stated the disadvantages of Vienna in point of climate and local circumstance, it would seem unjust not to take some brief notice of those noble institutions, in which the man of science, or art, or literary leisure, may find such disadvantages largely compensated.

Foremost among these, situated in a portion of a large pile of building close beside the palace, erected in great part by the Emperor Joseph II., for the arrangement of public museums, is the Imperial Library. It contains, according to the accurate details of Balbi,\* about two hundred and seventy thousand volumes printed since the year 1500 ; twelve thousand incunabula (books printed previous to the year 1500) ; sixteen thousand and sixteen manuscripts ;

\* *Essai Statistique sur les Bibliothèques de Vienne.*

and eleven thousand two hundred and forty-two portfolios, containing one of the richest collections of engravings in Europe. These treasures are principally contained in one grand room, two hundred and forty (Vienna) feet long, by forty-five wide and sixty-two high, having an oval dome of thirty feet elevation above the general ceiling—and in five subsidiary rooms of smaller dimensions : but as the annual increase in number is from three thousand five hundred to three thousand eight hundred volumes, the want of additional space is severely felt. This increase arises partly from the deposit of one copy of every work published in the Austrian territories, and partly from the purchase of foreign books, for which latter object, together with the cost of binding, and the purchase of engravings and manuscripts (the salaries of officers being paid separately), there is a fixed annual donation of nineteen thousand florins, or one thousand nine hundred pounds sterling ; besides such further funds as are required, and are readily granted by the government, for the purchase of any specific works of expense. For five hours in every day, the library is open to the public. No introduction is requisite. I have often passed an hour or two there amid probably forty or fifty persons, commodiously seated in a comfortable room ; and, owing to the excellence of the catalogues, supplied with remarkable promptness with the books they require. Three times we devoted some hours to the inspection of this splendid collection, with our worthy friend, Mr. Von Kopitar, the

sub-librarian; and among its rarer treasures, I may take occasion to note the following articles:

1. *Psalmorum Liber*. Fust and Schoeffer de Gernsheim. Mayence, 1457. Folio, on vellum, with very large gothic characters, about a third of an inch in length. This is the earliest book printed with a date.

2. *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. By the same. Printed in 1459, two years after the former, on vellum also, and in gothic letters, but with much smaller types.

3. *Aulus Gellius*. Rome, 1469. Rome: Schweynheim and Pannartz. Vellum. This, as printed on vellum, is unique. The Cardinal Bessarion had one single copy printed on vellum for himself, of five books which were printed about this time at Rome; four of them are here at Vienna, the fifth is in England.

4. *Biblia Latina*. Fust and Schoeffer de Gernsheim. Vellum, folio, gothic characters. This is a very remarkable and beautiful book. It is earlier than No. 1, but without a date; circumstances, however, lead to the belief that it was printed about 1455—one of the earliest specimens of typography.

5. *Decor Puellarum*. Jenson, Venice. This is a curious book, and is, perhaps, the earliest in the Venetian dialect. It is on paper, and bears the date 1461; but this, it appears evident, is a typographical error—an X has been probably omitted, which would render the date 1471. Jenson had his types made for Roman printing; they were metal-founded, neat and good; but the Roman printing had no Z, a letter which often occurs in the Venetian dialect, and for it he seems to have had a special clumsy wooden type, the Z being always larger and thicker than the other letters.

6. *Editio Princeps of Homer*. Florence, 1488. Nerli: 2 vols., folio.

7. *Speculum Historiale*. Strasburg, about 1470. This is a folio of enormous bulk. It is a universal history, composed for the children of Louis IX. of France.

8. *Lancelot of the Lake*. Paper; 3 vols., folio. Paris, 1494.

9. Caxton's Game of Chess. Besides many other works of Fust and Caxton.

In looking over specimens of early typography, surprise is excited at the beauty and perfection which the art of printing appears to have attained in the very infancy of its existence. Many of the works of the fifteenth century exhibit a clearness and regularity and beauty of character, a fineness of paper, and a rich glossy blackness of ink, which have not often been excelled in later times. Nations are naturally proud of being the originators of useful arts. That of printing (or, in other words, the first use of moveable types) is claimed by the Dutch for Lawrence Koster of Haarlem; while the Germans contend for Guttenburg of Mayence, who, however, being poor, derived little benefit himself from the invention. Happily it was taken up by Fust, a man of opulence as well as talent, who, at all events, was the first who carried on the work of printing upon an extended scale. Schoeffer de Gersheim was his collaborator in life, and his successor after death.

Of the Manuscripts in the Library, the most remarkable are the following:

1. The Fifth Decad of Livy. A handsome MS. in uncial letters, well preserved and clearly written. It is unique, and from it alone has the Fifth Decad been printed.
2. Hilary de Trinitate. A fine MS. on papyrus, of the fourth century.
3. A Psalter, which belonged to Charlemagne. It is a splendid Codex Aureus, but by no means equal, in my opinion, to that of Treves.

4. *Dioscorides*. This remarkable MS. was written by the order of the Princess Juliana Anicia, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius, towards the latter end of the fifth century. It has coloured paintings of the medicinal plants, and on the page opposite to each of them, is the description of the plant in uncial letters. The colours are well preserved. It was brought from Constantinople by Busbequius. There is in the library another MS. of *Dioscorides*, very similar to it, and nearly as ancient. In many particulars it appears superior to the former.

5. Some Fragments of *Genesis*, in silver uncials on purple vellum.

6. *The Grammatici Bobienses*, on palimpsestes, from the monastery of Bobbio.

7. *Codex Clathratus*. These are fragments, on parchment, of the most ancient translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into German, dated about the beginning of the eighth century. They are small pieces taken from the binding of books, which had for ages reposed on the shelves of a monastery. The learned discoverer and editor of them has published fac-similes, of which he kindly presented me with a copy.

8. Original Manuscript of Tasso's *Gierusalemme*, full of alterations and corrections.

9. *Charta Ravennas et Pieria*. These are writings on papyrus of the fifteenth century, in what is termed the Lombard writing—being an instrument of sale and of gift of land.

10. *Biblia Pauperum*. This work I at first deemed to be printed, but it is a manuscript of about 1420—one of those latest manuscripts, from the imitation of the writing of which, the earliest types were formed. It is remarkable for having on each second page (I think) three wood-cuts, a central one from the New Testament, and two side ones from the Old—all of which appear to be copies from the old painted glass.

Add to these as matters of curious interest—

A Bronze Tablet, containing the original *Senatus Consultum de Baccanalibus (abolendis)*. This dates from the year 567 of Rome, or 186 B.C.

*Tabulæ Peutingerianæ.* This was to me the most interesting object of the whole collection ; for, although fac-similes of it have long ago been published in the works of Montfauçon and others, still there is a peculiar satisfaction in viewing the originals of remarkable objects. It is a Roman Geographical Military Map on vellum, made apparently in the time of Septimus Severus, in the fourth century, and copied out, as we now see it, in the thirteenth. It is about a foot broad, and of great length. In it appears to be comprised the whole of the Roman world, but so compressed (it being intended to serve merely as a road-guide for military movements), that the Mediterranean and Adriatic are made to run parallel to each other. All the towns and stations are marked with the distances in Roman miles between each. The first sheet of it, containing the westernmost part, being Spain and part of Britain, is wanting—but Professor Wittenbach, of Treves, has recently discovered a portion of it in the binding of an Incunabulum of the library of that city.

The Museum of Antiquities, arranged in five saloons, may be placed next in order to the library, not so much for any very superior excellence of its bronzes or marbles, or of its numerous antique articles of art and arms, as for its cabinet of medals, which is second only to that of Paris, and for its magnificent collection of cameos and intaglios, which is without rival in Europe. After all the knowledge of them derived from engraving and description, the eye still contemplates these wonderful works of beauty with astonishment and rapture. Pre-eminent among them is the great Cameo of the Apotheosis of Augustus, a work of infinite beauty and labour, containing on a sardonyx stone eight inches and three quarters long by seven inches and a half broad (and thus being one of the



largest pieces known\*) twenty human figures in various attitudes of triumph and subjection. The family of Claudius, the Imperial Eagle, and nearly forty other gems of the same description, are mostly of equal beauty in workmanship, and some of them not greatly inferior in size. The general collection of antique objects appears less rich than it otherwise would, from a portion of its contents, comprising every object relating to Egypt, sacred, historical, literary, or domestic, having been removed to a separate building, where, in conjunction with other articles of more recent character from the same country, it forms a cabinet of Egyptian research, ancient and modern. The idea is well conceived—and to those who have not contemplated the unequalled Egyptian collections at Berlin, that of Vienna would afford considerable gratification.

Of natural history, there are three principal Imperial Museums,—that of Zoology, and Botany,—that of Mineralogy, and that which is termed “Brazilian.”

\* There are three other engraved stones, in Europe, larger than this—but none superior in execution. The first of these is the ‘Agate of Tiberius,’ of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, exhibiting the family of that Emperor on a stone nearly a foot high by ten inches broad, and containing twenty-one figures. The second is the Cup of Naples, a mass of agate of extraordinary thickness, the hollow of the cup being nearly three inches in depth, adorned with allegorical figures in relief within, and with a head of Medusa without. The third is in the Vatican, and represents Bacchus and Ceres in a car, drawn by two Centaurs, on a stone sixteen inches wide by ten inches high.

They are ample, spacious, and well arranged. The first of them consists of seventeen saloons, none of them very large; and is rich in its collection of quadrupeds, native and foreign, but not so much so in molluscs, insects, and shells, at least in so far as the transient observer is enabled to judge. The Mineralogical cabinet is very copious and extensive, and is divided into three principal sections—containing, first, the gases with their derivatives, aqueous, acid, and saline; second, the earths and metals; third, the resins and carbonaceous substances; all of which are placed in cases around the rooms; the central parts being occupied by the geological specimens. The Brazilian Museum is, like the Egyptian cabinet before mentioned, dedicated exclusively to objects produced in, or relating to, that one country whence it derives its name—and which, selected from all the others, are here assembled apart.

Of these museums generally, as indeed of most of the institutions under the Austrian government, the high and eminent excellence is their admirable adaptation to practical utility. In those of other countries we had seen articles of greater individual rarity;—entire assemblages of certain branches, more copious and complete;—but in no one were the various objects, to our apprehension, so ably and lucidly arranged, labelled, described, and exhibited, as at Vienna; and this, too, in a city, where space and light are so defective. Medals and shells are, from their vast variety and number, necessarily deposited

in drawers, and are shown only on demand :—but all the other contents of the museums are fully exhibited to the public, during a convenient number of hours—and the student has ample opportunity of following up his researches therein, in connexion with the lectures gratuitously afforded on the principal branches of science. The museums have all, likewise, a library of chosen books, relating to the species of science or art, to which they are severally devoted—and as a sort of general appendix to them all (if I may use the term), is the remarkable Gallery of Ambras in the suburbs. This is likewise an imperial collection, of which the principal part was transported hither from the castle of Ambras in the Tyrol. It consists of a most interesting and amusing mass of rare objects in every department, arms and armour of the middle ages, ancient portraits, books, manuscripts, domestic and military utensils from Greenland and the Sandwich Islands, &c. &c. Here, too, is for the present deposited a grand copy in Mosaic of Leonardo's Last Supper, at Milan; but for want of a good locality wherein to place it, this precious object remains in its case unpacked, and thus we had no opportunity of admiring, what is probably one of the grandest works of art in Vienna.

Other museums and cabinets abound, both of science and of art, public and private; and the same is the case with collections of pictures, which in the palaces of several private nobles, especially Prince Liechtenstein, Prince Esterhazy, and Prince de Met-

ternich, are eminently rich. The Imperial Gallery of Paintings is at the Belvidere Palace in the suburbs, which is itself a noble edifice, and adorned with a richness of internal embellishment, worthy of the pictorial treasures it contains. The pictures are arranged in two grand suites of saloons on the principal floor, each branching off from the central dome, the one containing the Dutch and Flemish masters, the other those of Italy and Spain, arranged according to the respective schools. Hitherto no catalogue of them has been printed, but manuscript lists are found in every room. At Dresden, the Gallery comprises perhaps the grandest ensemble in Europe, but so neglected, so involved in gloom and dirt, as to afford too often a feeling more akin to pain than to pleasure. At Berlin the condition, the care, the arrangement are perfect, but the works themselves are rarely first-rate specimens. The Gallery of Vienna is good alike in intrinsic excellence, in order, and in condition—and after the amateur has admired, in these grand saloons, some of the finest works in Transalpine Europe, he will find a treasure of historical and pictorial interest, peculiar in character and of great local propriety, awaiting him in the suites of apartments above. Arranged in due order, we see in some of these the works of the German masters, and partially of the Flemish, from the earliest to the most recent periods. One saloon contains those of Austrian painters only—and another exhibits a select series of Italian paintings for the purpose of

comparison from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.

The great collection of Prince Esterhazy is likewise exhibited in a palace situated in the suburbs, which served as the habitual town residence of the late prince, but has been rarely occupied by the present. The pictures are six hundred and twenty-nine in number, whereof fifty-four are Spanish masters, one hundred and fifty of Italian, and the rest of Flemish, Dutch, and German artists, with about sixty of the French school. Although containing a considerable proportion of inferior works, intermixed with others of high excellence, it is altogether a very gratifying gallery, from the paintings being all in excellent condition, and no one exhibiting an unpleasing subject. Among the Dutch and Flemish works, which form altogether a fine assemblage, is a peculiarly beautiful Rembrandt, of Christ standing bound before Pilate, who is sitting on the judgment-seat, in the act of washing his hands. The dimensions are very large, the colouring of the richest and grandest character, and remarkable for being without that excessive darkness, which too often eclipses the minuter beauties of this great artist. The French pictures are some of them very superior, but the Spanish division is the most remarkable. It contains the works of twenty-nine different masters, including twelve paintings by Murillo, whose works can never be contemplated in number, without admiration of their brightness of colouring, and their singular

*reality* ; or without regret at their utter deficiency of ideal beauty. His beggar boys will always please, for in them all we require is nature ; but his holy families will ever disappoint those whose taste rests not on mere composition and colouring, but who seek in the infant Saviour and his mother something of loveliness and grace—something of higher mental excellence playing on the features—than can be found in a Spanish peasant child, and his rustic mother. The grandest and most beautiful Spanish picture in this collection, is a very large one of Coello, and exhibits the infant Saviour standing beside his mother, who, together with St. Joseph on his other side, looks down on him with most expressive affection. The sweet and touching countenance of the child is directed upwards to the Dove of the Holy Spirit, which, beaming with light, is descending upon him, while the Eternal Father is seen in the higher heavens surrounded by a choir of angels. The light proceeds wholly from the dove, and its dazzling brilliancy playing on the group below, and more especially on the half-averted faces of the cherubs above, is managed with the highest degree of science, delicacy, and effect.

Passing in silence, though with most pleasurable recollections, other museums and cabinets, I would briefly notice the imperial treasury at the palace, as containing most of those antique objects of curious interest connected with the German empire, which have in turn been deposited at Ratisbon, Francfort,

or Aix la Chapelle. Here are the crown and sceptre, the globe and sword of Charlemagne; and beside them, the far more splendid, though less dignified diadem of the new Austrian emperor. A few more articles of ancient grandeur, containing, among other precious stones, the great Florentine brilliant, weighing one hundred and thirty-nine carats and a half; jewellery, and articles of gold and silver plate; as well as many pieces of curious mechanism, are also here preserved: but the Archducal cap of Austria has been restored to Klosterneuberg, and the antique crown of Bohemia to Prague. That of Hungary was brought hither by Joseph II. in violation of the constitutional law, which constitutes it a sacred deposit in the hands of conservators appointed by the diet—and this act of imperial autocracy alienated the Hungarian affections, probably more than all the other innovations of that great but rash sovereign. To avoid taking the constitutional oaths, he refused to be crowned during the whole of his reign; but before the close of it, he was compelled to resign the crown itself to its legal guardians at Buda.

Not far from the walls, and among the new plantations, is an object of great classic elegance. It is a miniature representation of the Theseum of Athens, conforming to the original in proportions and decorations, but so reduced in size as to answer simply the purpose of containing that grand work of Canova, the colossal group of Theseus vanquishing the Centaur. The group is of Carrara marble, with many

black specks about it, but none in either of the faces, nor any so situated as to injure the general beauty. The hero is in the act of grasping with his left hand the throat of the Centaur, whose countenance, hanging back, exhibits the approach of strangulation; while his right arm raised behind his helmeted head, clenches the club with which he prepares to inflict the final blow. His features are finely expressive of indignation and contempt as he presses with his knee the reverted body of the Centaur. The whole character of the group is in Canova's most effective style. It is free from all affectation, and is simply and severely grand. The figures exhibit quite sufficient muscle for the occasion of mortal combat, but have nothing approaching to caricature or distortion.

For the second volume I reserve all details on the machinery of the government, the nature of existing institutions, civil, military, and financial, the state of education, religion, morals and jurisprudence, and the course of domestic and foreign policy. These are subjects, which, although in some of their practical bearings better contemplated in the provinces, may be most conveniently studied in their principle at Vienna; and they will afford to the traveller abundant occupation for those hours, which he may spare from the pleasures of society or the pursuits of science and art. When wearied with the confinement of the city, he may repair to the Prater; and either take his ride or drive amid the noble and the wealthy of the land, or stroll along among the dense



multitudes of the middling and lower classes who congregate there when the weather permits, sipping their wine and their coffee beneath the trees, or gazing at the various shows and popular spectacles with which the avenues abound. Should he be inclined for contemplations of a more serious cast, he may visit the cathedral of St. Stephen at the hours of morning or evening service—not merely to admire its splendid architecture and gorgeous decorations, but to enjoy—what can only be enjoyed in a place of Romish worship, within the Austrian states—the grand harmonious chorus of thousands of voices, offering up the tribute of prayer and praise, in the beautiful music of their church, but *in the words of their native tongue*.\*

One object more I shall mention, before ending the subject of Vienna. It is the vault below the Capucin Monastery, in which repose the mortal remains of eighty members of the imperial family, each under his monument of marble. They are chiefly ranged along the walls. A more central spot is occupied by the tomb of Maria Theresa, and not far from it is that wherein are deposited the remains of the late Emperor Francis II. On the 2nd of November, All-souls day, this chamber of death is open to the public; and I have seen it then crowded with curious and well-conducted spectators: but the occasion of my mentioning it at present, is a visit paid

\* See the Chapter on Religion in the second volume.

to it, while we were at Vienna, and which well exhibits the active habits and rapid movements of another imperial personage. One day, early in October (1835), when walking in the Herrengasse, one of the principal streets, I noticed the arrival of two open calêches or britzkas, in post, which, after a short halt near the palace of Prince Liechtenstein, proceeded to that of the Russian Embassy. The circumstance of the first of these light open carriages having so many as six horses, attracted notice; and it was soon known that the two gentlemen in it, muffled up in cloaks against the rain and cold, were the Emperor Nicholas accompanied by Prince Charles of Liechtenstein, whose attendants followed in the second calêche. The Austrian Emperor was at this period absent. Accompanied by the imperial princes, and the officers of state, he had been making a tour of inspection through his Bohemian provinces, at the close of which he had met the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia at the conferences at Teplitz, and had returned with them from thence to pass a few days at Prague.

This sudden and rapid visit of the Russian Emperor to the Austrian capital at such a moment, was made the subject of singular political speculations, not only at Vienna, but also in most of the foreign journals—all of them, as I believe, without the slightest foundation. The simple fact appears to have been this. Long years of confidential intercourse had produced, in the late and present Russian Em-

perors, a warm personal affection for the late Emperor Francis, whom Alexander used to flatter with the title of his political father. Being so near as Prague, Nicholas determined to visit the tomb and the widow of his departed friend ; and he carried this determination into effect with his usual rapidity of movement, and aversion to ceremonious preparation. Calling, one morning, on the Austrian Emperor at Prague—" I am come," said he, " to ask your Majesty's commands for Vienna."—" How ?" said the astonished Ferdinand, " Are you going to Vienna ? When ?"—" Immediately,—the carriage is at the door ;" and he immediately departed, declining the offer of an avant-courier, to make preparations. He took with him Prince Charles of Liechtenstein, as a companion, or aid-de-camp of honour. A courier was despatched by Ferdinand to announce the important guest ; but Nicholas reached Vienna five hours before him. He drove first, as I have observed, to the Russian Embassy, where he changed his dress (it was then four o'clock), and proceeded to Schönbrunn, three miles from Vienna—remained some time with the imperial widow who there resided in the greatest seclusion and returned to pass the evening with the Princess Metternich, whose husband was at Prague. The following morning, having seen two or three persons of his acquaintance, he paid a reverential visit to the tomb of Francis—beside which he continued some time on his knees apparently in prayer. He then went to several shops and bought small articles

—called for a few minutes on the Archduchess, and on Princess Metternich—went out again to Schönbrunn, and dined at half past one with the Empress mother—returned to Vienna and left it at five o'clock for Prague; which he reached on the third day of his absence, and while Ferdinand was still there.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Journey from Vienna to Grätz—Baden—Wienerisch—Neustadt—Military Academy, and Observations on Education—Cistercian—Monastery—Cathedral and Monument of Zrini and Frangipani—Neustadt Canal—Schottwein—German Posting—Brück—Feistritz—Mines—Arrival at Grätz.

It was early in March that we left Vienna for the south. After having passed the winter in Hungary, we had returned to the Austrian capital, and thence took our departure for the Illyrian provinces, intending to embark at Trieste for Greece. The spring had already commenced: the sky was cloudless,—the air warm and genial,—and we rolled along the plain with our carriage open, to catch and enjoy the rays of a brilliant sun. How different had been our sensations when we traversed a portion of this same plain some months before, striving in vain to shelter ourselves under accumulated cloaks from the piercing cold. How much do our impressions of outward objects depend on the momentary state of our bodily feelings.

The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Vienna has little in it of the beautiful or the picturesque; but the road passes through rich plantations of vines, producing the best of the Austrian wines:

and ere long the low rounded hills towards the west take a more decided and lofty character, and offer to the eye a series of forms of great variety and beauty.

Pleasingly situated amid the vineyards at the foot of these hills, about eighteen English miles distant from Vienna, and one mile to the west of the high road towards Grätz which we were following, stands the elegant watering-place of Baden. I had passed a few days there in the preceding October, when the season was already over, for the autumns in the plain of Vienna are cold and chilly, and had that year been so especially rainy, that the grapes were left to perish generally on the vines, it not being deemed worth the expense to gather them in. Even the reading-room had been closed on the first of October; and the shops, no longer adorned with their annual stock of Viennese finery, looked poor and empty. Yet in the summer months Baden must possess great attractions. It is a tolerably well-built town of five thousand permanent inhabitants; and at that period of the year is the usual resort of the imperial family, and of the *élite* of the nobility. About a mile distant from it, is a fine chateau of the Archduke Charles; and just within the town is a much smaller one, but with large appurtenances attached, which belonged to the present emperor while hereditary prince; at which period his deceased father, in accordance with his usual simple habits, occupied a plain and small residence in one of the streets. In various parts of the town, and especially

in what may be termed the suburbs, are numerous spacious mansions and villas ; many adorned with gardens and enclosures, which give to the place altogether a far more aristocratical air than we observe generally in the German watering-places. The water is simply sulphureous ; little taken internally, but principally used in baths, of which there are seventeen establishments, public and private ; some whereof appear to have been used already in the time of the Antonines.\* Immediately behind the town rise low limestone hills, offering many pleasing walks and rides ; and at their foot, and extending partially up their side, is the great public promenade—a spacious enclosed garden of shrubberies, cut into walks and alleys, appearing to sympathise with all else around, in the stately dignity of its character.

Proceeding southward, we remained a day at Wienerisch Neustadt, wishing to see the Cistercian monastery ; and, more particularly, the Military Academy, the only preparatory establishment of the kind, for officers of the line, existing in the empire. This is a great national institution, of which the regular establishment consists of four hundred pupils, who are boarded, lodged, clothed, and educated, gratuitously ; nearly one-fourth of whom are recommended by the provincial stände or states, and the residue appointed absolutely by the crown. The

\* Marcus Aurelius passed the last eight years of his life in the vicinity of the Danube, and died at Vienna A. D. 168.

number of these provincial nominations is, thirty-six for Bohemia, twelve for Moravia, six for Silesia, twelve for Lower Austria, six for Upper Austria, twelve for Styria, six for Carinthia, and six for Carniola ; each of which states present, on the occurrence of vacancies in their particular gift, three candidates, from six to ten years of age, from whom the crown selects one ; and each yields from its provincial funds some contribution towards the general expenses. One year of probation is imposed on each candidate, with a view to ascertain whether he be subject to any mental or bodily deficiency, at the end of which term he is either dismissed, or permanently admitted ; and in addition to those pupils which thus form the regular establishment, private individuals may send their sons, as far as the building allows accommodation, on an annual payment of 500fl., or £50 sterling. These last have then an equality with the rest in board, lodging, clothing, and education ; but the expense is too great to admit of the privilege being much availed of. The pupils, although earlier appointed, rarely enter the college younger than from nine to ten years of age, and perhaps a year later. They usually pass through eight classes, being one year in each. At the end of these eight years they undergo a final examination, and are ranked according to their proficiency and conduct. The four highest of those who go out in each year receive at once commissions of lieutenants ; the rest, who have done well, are appointed to en-



signeies. Those of whom the report is not favourable are sent into the regiments as cadets, and must look forward, by their future good conduct, to obtain commissions.

We were curious to examine the details of Austrian juvenile treatment, as it exists under the highest sanction of the state, and went over the whole establishment with much interest. The building is an ancient imperial chateau, very spacious, and well adapted to the purpose; and attached to it is an extensive park-like enclosure for exercise and recreation, which is likewise open to the public. The education embraces, mainly, military science, direct and collateral—the use of all arms, tactics in a large sense, fortification, engineering, surveying, &c. To these are added natural philosophy, ancient and modern languages, and other branches of general education; but, as in the universities and gymnasiums, the instruction is imparted on a system of fixed regularity, and with a special view to practical utility; all that may tend to excite the imagination being here, as elsewhere, as far as possible excluded.\* The rooms for the different classes are large and commodious; and the various models and instruments used for natural philosophy in its different branches, are numerous and excellent. Nothing appears neglected, in the Austrian view, either for

\* For the principles and system of Austrian education, see the Chapter thereon in the second volume.

the practical instruction or for the health and regular conduct of the youths. The dormitories are particularly good, being spacious halls, excellently clean and well ventilated ; in each of which are single beds for thirty to forty pupils, all separate. Two officers sleep in each room ; lamps are kept burning ; and through the whole night attendants are walking up and down among the beds to preserve the strictest order. The pupils rise in summer at five ; in winter at six ; commence the day by hearing mass in the chapel, which service occupies about half an hour ; \* then receive a roll to eat, and go to their studies. They dine at noon on four or five dishes, of which some are meat. In the evening they have a roll of bread again at six ; sup on meat and vegetables at eight, and go to bed at nine. The sedentary studies are never continued more than an hour or an hour and a half, without an intermission of twenty or thirty minutes ; and due exercise in the open air is regulated and enforced. Their clothing and equipments are military, and so is their training. They may be seen in the park performing their manœuvres and exercises with great precision ; and have, more-

\* A query was some years since propounded to the crown, whether pupils of non-Romish creeds might be admitted into this establishment. The imperial rescript decided that the necessary maintenance of strict and uniform discipline would allow of no discrepancy of instruction, religious, military, or civil ; and that, therefore, all the pupils must be subject to the authorised chaplain, and conform to the observances of the established or rather the predominant church.

over, a gymnastic school, a swimming school, and a stable of forty horses, on which they are instructed in equitation.

Yet with all these regulations and advantages, the youths had not, to my eye, a fresh and robust look. They were said to be healthy, but they generally, and especially the elder ones, appeared puny and sickly. There seems nothing in the air of Neustadt to render them so; and if the fact be as it appeared to us, I should rather ascribe it to that great German sin of over regulation, which supervises not only all their studies, but likewise all their so-called recreations. Amid modern theories of education, and which prevail in other countries besides Germany, few perhaps are more practically erroneous, than the system which would be always teaching something; always, in every form of play, seeking to impart instruction. The gymnastics and equitation at Neustadt become thus as completely matters of study, and are probably performed with as much gravity of attention, as the tasks of mathematics or of history, because they are performed under the eye of the teacher. In the inaptitude of youth for any long-continued application, nature herself points out the expediency of alternate repose to the mind, of entire vacancy of thought; but man too often endeavours to counteract this wise disposition, by ever endeavouring to engage the attention to some new object of instruction. The animal spirits, those delightful harbingers of health

and energy, mental and corporeal, are stunted in their very spring, when the boy is debarred from those alternations of idle thoughtless independence in his sports, which is not less essential to the formation of his future character than the practice of his severer studies. The mind is frittered away by the multitude of pursuits, and filled with a jumble of crude and confused ideas. It becomes paralysed by over work, or precociously and morbidly active by over excitement. A being of dull and orderly correctness may be produced by such discipline; or the memory may be so overcharged, to the probable ruin of the reflecting powers, as to delight unthinking relatives with the multitude of acquired ideas: but as the lad has wanted the freshness of youth, so he will probably in after years be without the vigour of manhood.

At the Cistercian monastery we found a handsome chapel and a good library, with many early editions and incunabula, and some illuminated bibles and missals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but none of them very remarkable. We passed an hour there, however, pleasantly enough, in company with the Superior, a courteous and well-informed man. There are only eleven fathers resident in the house, all the others being out in the world, employed in universities and seminaries of learning. They take no boarders, but the gymnasium of the district is held in their monastery; and, owing to the general

utility of the fathers as instructors of youth, none of their possessions were touched by the confiscating hand of the Emperor Joseph.

In 1834, this ancient city of Neustadt was almost entirely consumed by fire. Out of more than four hundred houses, fourteen only wholly escaped injury; and the generality of them, being of wood, were utterly destroyed; so that instead of the vestiges of historical antiquity which we had expected, we beheld new streets on all sides rising amid ruins, and as yet only partially completed. Both the Cistercian monastery and the military academy escaped the flames, and so did the cathedral, which is an odd old building, of generally gothic character, but with that mixture of circular arches, the relics of an earlier style, which is often observed in German sacred edifices. We were anxious to see the monument of Counts Zrini and Frangipani, who, with Tattenbach and Nadasdi, were the leaders of the great Hungarian conspiracy of 1671, the object whereof was to transfer the sovereignty of that kingdom from the emperor to the sultan. The plot was discovered; and the two great chieftains I have mentioned were beheaded at Neustadt; but the monument, which we knew to be somewhere about the cathedral, we sought and inquired for in vain. At length, having observed a space on the centre wall covered up with boards, and having contrived a little to displace one of them, we succeeded in making out, through the interstice, the following inscription on a stone tablet:—

IN TUMULO  
JACENT  
PETRUS ZRINIUS  
CROATIE  
ET  
FRANCISCUS FRANCEPAN  
ULTIMUS FAMILIÆ  
QUI QUIA  
CÆCUS CÆCUM DUXIT  
A FALCE IN HANC FOVEAM CECIDERUNT.

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DISCITE MORTALES EX CASU DISCITE NOSTRO  
OBSERVARE FIDEM REGIBUS ATQUE DEO  
ANNO DOMINI MDCLXXI  
DIE XXX APRILIS—HORA IX  
AMBITIONIS META EST TUMBA.

Within a few minutes' walk only of the town, is the frontier of Hungary, over which is brought a great deal of coal from the mines near Odenburg, and wood from the forest of Bakony, to be conveyed on to Vienna by the Neustadt canal. This is a fine work of the Emperor Joseph, about forty English miles in length, sixteen feet wide, and four deep, and having a fall of fifty-five feet between Neustadt and Vienna. The emperor intended to have carried it on much farther southward towards the Adriatic, traversing a part of Hungary; but this, like nearly all his other projects of national improvement, was abandoned at his death, and the canal, as it now stands, serves only for the transport of such bulky articles as this fuel from Hungary, all other goods being conveyed in waggons by land.

The road, which had been generally flat from Vienna to Neustadt, a distance of nearly thirty English miles, so continued for about five-and-twenty farther, to the romantic village of Schottwein, situated in a defile at the northern base of that range of limestone hills, which separates Austria from Styria. At Schottwein is a tolerable inn, where those travellers usually pass the night, who make the journey from Vienna to Grätz in two days. We were detained there nearly two hours, waiting for horses—an inconvenience which happens rather too frequently in Austrian travelling. As is the case in all continental countries, the number of horses to be kept by each postmaster is regulated by the government, and if a few carriages more than usual pass at any one time, the consequence is that other travellers are impeded; unless, indeed, they take a precaution—always practicable in Austria—of announcing their intention to the postmaster of the place from whence they set out, the day before their departure. In that case, for a very small regulated fee, the postmaster orders horses all along the road, and the traveller on his arrival at each station experiences no retardment. Still, as I have before remarked, with all its delays and casualties, the posting in the Austrian Imperial German States, although very inferior to that of the Italian Provinces, and perhaps so likewise to that of some roads in France, is superior to what we found in any other part of Germany, except in the Prussian Provinces to the south of Berlin. In the whole of Saxony,

Hesse, and the other smaller states of western Germany, including, I think, Wurtemberg, the general contractor with the respective governments for all the posts, is the Prince of Tour and Taxis; and under his administration, the travelling, to an Englishman's idea, is wretched. Nor is it at all better in Bavaria, where the government keep the administration in their own hands. The German love of regulation has been at work in all those parts, to render expedition quite impossible. The traveller is obliged to take with him a printed form of register, in which is entered by the postmaster, at each relay, the hour and minute of arrival and of departure, and the minutes consumed in voluntary stoppage or in changing horses. The time allowed for each stage is regulated by ordinance, and the average may be about five English miles per hour on the road. The supposed utility of the register is, that it compels the postillion to go at proper speed, and that it is a document on which complaints may be at once authenticated and redressed. It serves, however, precisely to frustrate both these objects. If the postillion should be induced to press forward, so as to arrive a quarter of an hour before the regulated time, the postmaster perceives it, and his tender mercy towards the beasts induces him to punish, possibly to dismiss, their unfortunate driver. Should the traveller perceive by his watch, that more than the legal time has been consumed, he is referred to the register, and finds that *his* time and the *postmaster's* time are quite at variance; and thus no com-



plaint can be substantiated. We had often suspected fraud in this last respect, and in two cases, in Bavaria, we detected it. The postmaster had noted our departure ten minutes later than the time really was by his own clock and by that of the town, in order that the postillion might appear to be a shorter period on the course. We compelled him, with shame, to rectify the imposition, but were too negligent to make a complaint of it at Munich. From this mischievous regulation the Austrian posting is free. In it is no registered timeing. Kind words and good payment have their full effect, as far as that is possible on the German character; and to do them justice, the Austrian postillions, with their grand scarlet silver-laced jackets, their leather pantaloons and high large boots, and their huge cocked hats surmounted with flowing military plumes, do contrive to get over level ground, generally, at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour.

At the defile of Schottwein, commences the ascent of the limestone ridge which divides Austria from Styria; the highest point of which, traversed by the road, is three thousand one hundred and twenty feet above the sea. In those elevated regions we found a good deal of snow, which, indeed, in drifts and patches along the way side, accompanied us in our descent on the other side, following the windings of the Murz all the way to Brück. This descending vale has little of the picturesque, but is rich in pastured cattle; and on the road we met a number of those huge waggons that convey goods from Trieste to Vienna, most of

them weighing eight or nine tons. They were drawn by ten or twelve horses or oxen, the number being increased sometimes to eighteen or twenty, where long and steep hills were to be ascended. The animals, in these cases, were rather ingeniously intermixed. The leaders were always horses ; behind them came oxen ; probably then followed a second similar alternation ; and horses closed as well as led the train. Thus the oxen served the double purpose of drawing the vehicle, and of propelling forward with their horns the horses before them.

The little town of Brück, in the vale of the Mur, surrounded by picturesque hills covered generally with wood, I have before had occasion to mention. We then passed a Sunday here, and had another evidence of the good observance of that holy day which prevails in all the German States of Austria ; no traffic of any kind going on, shops closed, the people of all classes in their best attire, crowding to the churches at the periods of religious observance, and passing the rest of the day in the quiet enjoyment, the happy idleness, of the sabbath. We had then reached Brück by the road from Ischel, deviating to Admont and Altenmark, in the valley of the Enns. We now passed there the night only, and on the following day proceeded to Grätz, distant about thirty English miles, by one of the most beautiful drives possible to be imagined. It was wholly through the narrow green vale of the Mur. The river, shallow and rapid, flows along between two ranges of hills, at times nearly per-

pendicular, and just affording room for the river and the road—at others rather receding, and forming small plains; but always covered with wood, rich and luxuriant. We stopped at Peggau, the last stage before Grätz, to visit a large proprietor at the neighbouring village of Feistritz, but learnt, with regret, that he had just departed for Vienna. In and about this village are worked some mines of lead and silver; which metals are found in a quartzose slate, which, with other primitive rock, here runs out from that great central range of Noric Alps, whereof we had partially traversed the outlayers in the limestone ridge of Schottwein. The mines are, at Feistritz, from fifty to sixty fathoms deep; but higher up in the country the adits rather ascend than otherwise from their entrance at the side of the mountain. The ore yields usually from thirty to fifty per cent. of lead, twenty per cent. of sulphur, and, in one hundred pounds, from one and a half to two ounces of silver. The veins traversing the slate, are from three to fifteen or sixteen inches in thickness. At Feistritz, are also considerable iron forges and steel works: but the iron is extracted in the mines above Vordenburg, and thence conveyed down in carts to Leoben, where it is embarked on the Mur for Peggau and Feistritz, if the water is high, and if not, forwarded thither by return carts, which had brought up wine, &c. from Lower Styria to Leoben. Thus the expense of the carriage from the mine to Feistritz is small:—in the latter

case, about twenty kreutzers, or eight pence sterling, per hundred-weight, and if by water, a good deal less.

A further drive of an hour and a half, through this fine vale, brought us to the capital of Styria. After our previous stay in Hungary, it had been refreshing to us now to travel through a country where all seemed orderly and thriving. We had observed along the whole way from Vienna, numbers of people employed in repairing the roads, and in removing the snow where it formed obstructions. The ground in the plains and valleys was often well cultivated, with all the appearance of neat and judicious husbandry; and much of it was now green with rising corn. The waggons had usually broad wheels; an attention to viatic economy rarely seen on the continent. The cottages and the people looked in good condition. They are subjected in Styria to no robots or compulsory labour, and receive, for this cheap country, adequate remuneration. I found that at Feistritz the usual wages to the workmen at the mines and forges, was fourteen to sixteen kreutzers, (about sixpence sterling) besides dwelling and food. The common pay of the agricultural labourers was ten kreutzers (fourpence) per day with his food, or double that sum without it.

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## CHAPTER X.

GRÄTZ—Town—Population—Resources—Climate — Johanneum  
—The Archduke John—Residence at Grätz—Productions of  
Styria—Mines—German Industry—Departure from Grätz—  
Marburg—Laybach—Character of the People—Illyrian Pro-  
vinces.

GRATZ, the ancient Styrian capital, is an extensive city, containing a population of somewhat more than fifty thousand persons. The ranges of hills, which from Brück, form the valley of the Mur, open out at its southern extremity to the east and the west, leaving between them an oblong plain, about twenty English miles long from north to south, and averaging about five in breadth. Towards the northern part of this plain, where it may not exceed the width of three miles, close at the foot of the eastern range of hill, stands the city of Grätz, with the Mur, here a large and rapid river, rushing finely through it. The ancient fortifications, which in their day sustained some vigorous sieges, have long since been levelled, and given place to public walks, gardens, and plantations: while a great bluff lump of rock, which rises to the height of three hundred feet at the northern ex-

tremity of, or rather within the city itself, and whereon once stood the citadel, serves now only as an occasional promenade for the inhabitants, thence to survey the singular beauty of the surrounding scenery. The eye sees from that spot, the Mur flowing brightly through the plain, amid fields of corn and rural hamlets; until, deflected by the mountains at the south, it takes an easterly direction, traversing thence a part of Hungary, to pour its waters ultimately into the Danube. All around the plain, rises the amphitheatre of hills, none very high, but finely diversified in form, green and wooded; and beyond these again are beheld towards the north and the west, the lofty mountain masses of Upper Styria and Carinthia, rising in rugged grandeur, and for the greater portion of the year covered with snow.

The interior of the city is like that of most ancient towns. The streets are generally narrow and dark, opening occasionally into large irregular "Places." The shops are tolerable; the houses of the higher classes, all of stone, are spacious and gloomy; and such is the character also of the churches, many of which are highly decorated within. The rarity of carriages in the streets at the summer period when we were there, gave to them a certain air of dulness in the contemplation of persons lately arrived from Pesth and Vienna, but still in most of them might be seen, on foot, a dense and active population.

Grätz has a combination of advantages for persons of limited means, and who understand something of

the German language, which renders it every year more and more the resort and residence of strangers. It is said to be the cheapest town in the empire ; and, if so, is probably the cheapest *good* town in Europe. A gentleman holding an office in the university, and to whose courteous attention we were much indebted, told us that he lived himself, and contrived to spare money for the occasional purchase of books, on four hundred florins (forty pounds sterling) a year ; and that one thousand to twelve hundred florins was as much as people with a family found it necessary to expend, in order to have good apartments, and, in their sense, every requisite comfort. As to ourselves, we certainly found the living at the Wilde Mann, which is considered the first hotel,\* and where we remained ten days, extremely poor : but, perhaps, little else could be fairly expected from charges so very small ; and families providing for themselves would of course fare well, since the country is very abundant in natural products, and Vienna, and even Pesth are supplied with their finest poultry from this part of Styria. Here is a good theatre ; many concerts ; and, during a part of the year, abundance of private society, both among the men of letters and the nobles, of which latter there are about a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty families having residences in the city. They are usually landed proprietors of Styria and the neighbouring parts of Hungary ;

\* I believe the "Stadt Trieste," without the walls, to be a much better house, but I have no personal experience of it.

and to these might, when we were there, be added the Duchess de Berri, who combined a quiet and retiring mode of life, with the occasional reception of a select and agreeable society. The climate is cold in the winter, and very changeable throughout the year; owing, no doubt, to the vicinity of the snow-clad mountains of Upper Styria. Although in  $47^{\circ} 4'$  latitude, the thermometer descends to  $10^{\circ}$  and even  $8^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, and often some degrees lower; while the extreme heat of the generality of summer is little short of  $90^{\circ}$ .

The university is one of the second order, having three full faculties only,—those of theology, law, and philosophy.\* In medicine, lectures are given, but no degrees are conferred. The library comprises about forty thousand volumes, including twelve hundred incunabula and two thousand manuscripts; but, except early editions of German and Bohemian bibles, I do not conceive that among them are many objects of rarity. Some of these religious volumes, however, are of great beauty from the richness of their embellishments; and one among them especially may boast of attractions which not long since excited the eager admiration even of a Son of Jacob. It is a folio manuscript of the German testament, written at Salzburg in 1464, with capitals in gold of remarkable thickness. Many were the attempts of the thrifty Israelite to obtain possession of the bril-

\* See Vol. II., Chapter on Education.



liant treasure, and large was the price he offered for its purchase; until, finding at length that all his endeavours were vain, he admitted that he had taken the pains accurately to estimate the value of the golden capitals, and that his intention had been to cut them out from the volume as articles of sale. An object of far greater interest than these glittering manuscripts, is a series of coloured wood-cuts, in continuous rolls, forming together the bulk of two folio volumes, which exhibit the procession of Maximilian I. into Ghent in the year 1477, on the occasion of his marriage. A printed volume, with the date of 1517, containing the exploits of the same Maximilian under the name of *Teurdankk*, is adorned with cuts of the same character; and scarcely any monuments have I seen which convey so excellent an illustration as these cuts of the costumes of the fifteenth century. The library is comprised partly in some smaller rooms, but principally in a lofty, spacious, and elegant saloon, which, at the period when the university was under the direction of the Jesuits, was not unfrequently used as a theatre for the performance of "Mysteries."

But the pride of Grätz and of Styria, the great intellectual resource for the inhabitants and for strangers, is the *Johanneum*; one of the most valuable establishments of the kind in Europe. It owes its origin to the Archduke John, from whose name it takes its appellation. In the year 1811 this enlightened and patriotic prince obtained from the

Stände, or provincial parliament of Styria, the grant of a spacious public edifice for the formation of a national scientific and literary establishment, together with the vote of certain annual funds for its support; which grant was subsequently confirmed in perpetuity by an imperial charter. These primary arrangements having been completed, the Archduke presented to it the whole of his own very extensive and valuable collections—of books, of natural history in its several branches, of antiquities, of industrial models and specimens, and of miscellaneous objects of interest. To these each year witnesses important additions, procured for the institution by the funds and the researches of its founder and patron. A munificent bequest from Count Brigido in the year 1817 enabled the trustees to make large additions to the building, to which is now attached an extensive botanical garden; and the salaries of eminent professors, who give gratuitous courses of lectures on mineralogy and geology, botany, chemistry, agriculture, and the useful arts, are defrayed by the stände.

At the period of our arrival, the Archduke happened to be himself at Grätz, having come over for a few days from his usual residence at Vordenberg, to preside at an agricultural meeting. We availed ourselves of this opportunity to present our introductions to His Imperial Highness, whose reception was most kind, and who at a subsequent term, attended by Professor Anker, the learned custos of the museums, graciously conducted us himself over every

part of the Johanneum: explaining the various objects as we went along, and conversing freely and most instructively on a variety of incidental topics. We first went through the rich collections of natural history, which in all its departments occupy thirteen rooms, some very spacious. The geological and mineralogical departments contain, first, complete and very interesting specimens of all the rocks and minerals of Styria; and next, a rich general collection from all the other parts of the world. The specimens are mostly fine, and, as usual in Austria, admirably arranged for inspection and reference. In the Zoological room were some specimens, stuffed and otherwise preserved, both native and foreign, including some immense birds of the falco tribe killed in Styria, and an enormous bear, an animal which abounds in these regions. The botanical rooms contain a hortus siccus of more than fifteen thousand plants, in about a hundred large thick folio volumes; and also a hundred and forty volumes of *trees*, arranged in the manner of those in the monastery of Admont. Of one plant, the *Panicum sanguinale*, hopes were expressed that it might be rendered a source of great public benefit; being capable of cultivation on the poorest soils, and bearing a grain from which nutritious bread could be made; but how far these hopes are likely to be realized, I have not of late had the opportunity of learning. Practical utility and improvement have been the objects always present in the mind of the Archduke, in the primary

foundation and endowments, as well as in the subsequent conduct, of the *Johanneum*. Accordingly, we find here in one part a complete collection of all the indigenous products of Styria, which can by labour be converted to the use of man ;—together with the same in their several prepared or manufactured forms. In another part we see united all agricultural and mechanical implements now used in Styria,—and beside them specimens or models of the principal instruments and machines of all kinds adopted for similar purposes in foreign countries, from the examination and mutual comparison of which His Imperial Highness seeks to improve the native practice. One room is devoted to antiquities—among which is a pretty large number of Roman, and a good collection of Styrian and other modern coins, together with several Persian and Babylonian objects of high value, cylinders, amulets, rings, &c., many of them sent to the Archduke by Mr. Rich and Sir Gore Ouseley. Near this room is a fire-proof apartment for the custody of records—in which all private families and municipal bodies may deposit their documents, or copies of them, for secure preservation, and which now form an interesting collection of local history and antiquities. We saw there the charter of the *Johanneum*, signed by the Emperor Francis ; and among other curious manuscripts, several charters of the ninth and tenth centuries ; especially one of the year 878 by the Emperor Carloman. After devoting more than three hours to the inspection of

these interesting collections, we finally reached the library—to arrive at which we traversed the reading-room, which is open to the public. It was now about eight o'clock. The reading-room was well lighted and warmed; probably there might have been in it forty and fifty persons, chiefly young men, with their books before them. On entering the library, "This," said the Archduke, "is the most really useful part of the whole establishment. It enables us to keep young men from idleness and vice, by attracting them to read, and improve their minds. It is enough, as to the mass of mankind, to give them general, not profound, instruction. If a master genius arise, he will instruct himself on that substratum, and here we give him the means of doing so."—The library contains about fifteen thousand volumes. Perhaps its only great typographical rarity is the Greek Anthologia, printed at Venice in 1494, large octavo in capitals, a very handsome book; but in modern useful and ornamental literature it is very rich. Besides the best standard productions of all countries on the arts and sciences, natural philosophy, history, poetry, general literature and politics, it abounds in the more splendid works of art; the different voyages pittoresques in large folio, of Spain, Brasil, Naples and Sicily, Dalmatia, &c.; the various museums and galleries of paintings and sculpture; and from England I observed Britton's and Rennie's architectural works, and all our best modern travellers, Dr. Clarke, Dodwell, Holland, &c. &c., and very many others

of more recent date. This costly collection, and also those of the other departments are, as I have mentioned, the gift of the Archduke, who is continually making additions to them ; procuring augmentations to the physical and scientific cabinets, and buying most of the good works of current literature in England, France, and Germany, as they appear ; besides which the library has a dotation of 1000 florins (£100 sterling) per annum from the Stände, for the purchase or binding of books. Observing on the shelves the works of Voltaire and Volney, I asked whether *all* books were allowed indiscriminately to be read. “ Not entirely,” was the answer. “ That rests in some degree with the discretion of the librarian, who would not allow *those* books, for instance, to very youthful readers ;” a discretion, by the by, which may be said to supersede the more formal licence, which in earlier days was requisite for the reading of evil or doubtful publications. On the outside of a large folio Wendish translation of the bible, with good wood-cuts, printed at Wittemberg in 1554, and which is a great local curiosity, I observed inscribed, in German, the following words :—“ Not permitted to read this book, save to those who have obtained licence from the spiritual authorities to read heretical works.” The botanical garden had recently received a considerable addition of space, and was in course of great improvement. It had not hitherto obtained so much attention as the other parts of the establishment, and great difficulties had been experienced in

the attempts to rear plants of foreign growth, from the remarkable vicissitudes of the climate. Conservatories were now in course of erection, ground had just been procured with reference to peculiar aspects, and a new professor had been appointed, under whose direction it was expected that this branch of science would be ably and efficiently cultivated.

Such is the Johanneum, in the inspection of which we had now passed four hours in the company of its illustrious founder; but I must not omit, although we were not introduced to it until the following day, an adjunct to the institution, which to foreigners will be especially useful. This is a general reading-room, distinct from that which I have mentioned as attached to the library, to which strangers are admitted gratuitously, and natives on a subscription of three florins *w. w.* (2*s.* 6*d.* sterling) per month. We found in it a very large supply of newspapers and periodicals from every part of Germany; some Italian journals; one French paper, the *Messenger*; together with the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*.

In a country like England, where the public energy is so great as to be almost indifferent to private patronage, where the press is ever at hand to circulate the knowledge of all useful inventions, and abundant capital always ready to be employed in their adoption,—it is not easy to appreciate with justice the immense advantage derived to a country so differently organized as that which I am now

describing, from the character and conduct of such a prince as the Archduke John. Styria, where he mainly resides, has had the principal benefit of his personal exertions for the public good—which, however, are partially extended to the more southern provinces. Besides being, as is generally admitted, a very scientific engineer\* in all its branches, (and this implies a large range of natural and mathematic knowledge,) he is an able geologist, mechanician, and practical agriculturist. About twenty years ago, he first introduced the culture of the potato, of which the value is now immense in the poorer parts of the country. He has established agricultural societies at Grätz, Laybach and Klagenfurt, at all of which he presides in person, and takes an active part in their proceedings. Devoting his time and his income to useful public purposes, he seeks to introduce, in arts, science and husbandry, the improvements of other countries: adopting them on his own properties, as objects for example; or first trying them there, when of doubtful application. He has numerous residences, chiefly in Styria, among which he divides his time:—one, (and a principal one,) at Vordenberg, near which are the mines and iron-works whereof he is partly the owner—another at Marburg, on the Drave, where are his extensive vineyards—a third near Aflentz, with fine forests, and a large experi-

\* The Archduke John is Director General of the Engineer and Fortification Department.



mental farm. Thus, in all branches of rural economy, he is practically as well as theoretically employed; and when we crossed the heights above Vordenberg, His Imperial Highness being then at Teplitz, we inspected there a rail-road which he was constructing to convey the metal from the mine to the forges below. At Gastein, he has lately built a house, where he enjoys, every summer, the noblest geology and the grandest scenery of the Noric Alps. At Grätz also he has a residence, which he frequently visits for the purpose chiefly of supervising the *Johanneum*, but he seldom remains there beyond a few days at a time. Both there and at Vienna, he is obliged in some degree to submit to the etiquettes of his Imperial rank, from which he may wholly divest himself in his more retired abodes.

He was without an establishment when we saw him at Grätz, his lady\* being then at Vordenberg. He is now in his fifty-seventh year, having been born in 1782—tall and thin, very bald, and the little hair he has, quite white—his countenance full of intelligence; marked with that mild benignity which pervades his whole character; and with which the easy and engaging yet dignified simplicity of his manners so well corresponds. His conversation, frank and unreserved on all matters, was peculiarly interesting from

\* The Archduke having selected his lady from the family of a subject, she has not the rank or title of Archduchess, but bears a title of private nobility which was especially conferred on her by the late Emperor, on her first reception at Vienna.

the circumstances of the times, on political subjects ; but without presuming to suppose that anything of a very private character could have attached to remarks made to us in casual conversation by his Imperial Highness, I still cannot permit to myself any further observation on them, than that, if I may judge of the sentiments of the Austrian reigning family and government from those which he expressed, I may infer that they well know their position in Europe, internal and foreign, and will pursue a wise and steady course, fully aware of the difficulties and the advantages with which that position is attended.

Were we to judge of the people of Grätz by the tables which I shall hereafter present to the reader,\* we should pronounce them to be the most immoral population in the empire, and probably in Europe ; but, as I shall have occasion to remark in that chapter wherein those tables are contained, no subject is more liable to be misconceived than that of foreign morality, and few guides are more fallacious as to real facts, than statistical tables. It would be premature to enter here on points which will be hereafter fully discussed : and I will only now observe, that the natives of Grätz, like the generality of Austrians, are a happy and enjoying people—sober and orderly in their outward demeanour—tranquil and contented in their inward feelings—gentle, obliging, and affectionate. For persons of no considerable worldly means, and somewhat acquainted with the German language,

\* Vol. II.—Chapter “Morality.”

—persons who can sympathise with the single-minded kindliness around them—finding alternate enjoyment in the frank but unostentatious hospitality of the noble in his lofty mansion, and the music and dancing and simple merriment of the citizen and mechanic in the rose-garden of the suburbs—Grätz will afford a very pleasing residence. Our sojourn there was one of great interest in every way, rendered peculiarly so in our particular case, by our communications not only with the Archduke himself, but with those other eminent and learned persons with whom he brought us in relation. We protracted our stay for several days after his Imperial Highness had returned to Vordenberg, and, with feelings of regret, took our departure at length, to profit by introductions with which his kindness had supplied us, for places which we then proposed to visit.

Styria is a country of iron and wine—the latter produced in Lower Styria, the former in Upper: and the plain of Grätz lies between the two; separated from Hungary by a picturesque range of country, about thirty English miles in width, wherein the geologist may find interest in the examination of many extinct volcanoes. The produce of the mines goes on increasing, and will continue to do so, with the augmentation of internal demand; but, although the ore is much nearer the surface than generally in England, and much richer also,—although the price of labour is far lower; all the machinery quite sufficient; and fuel abundant; yet, as regards foreign

markets, it is a great error to state that the Styrian iron can enter into competition with the British. This circumstance is mainly, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the character of the German workman. It is impossible to infuse into him any notion of the value of time. A Styrian iron-master, who had been long among the mines and foundries of England and Wales, told us that, in smelting the metal (and doubtless in the other operations also) he always found that two of his very best workmen, or three of his more ordinary ones, were requisite to perform that, in a given term, which in England is effected by one alone. All that they do, is done with a dull and lifeless regularity ; and such is everywhere the characteristic both of the German operatives and of their employers. Before they can hope to compete with us in any branch of industry, the masters and the men must alike improve their habits and propensities. It may be, (and here philanthropy must pause before it ventures to express a decided wish for the change,) it may be, that to produce this effect as regards the Austrians at least, some sense of want and misery, not now experienced, must first supplant their happy contentedness of spirit. Be this however as it may, they must acquire an activity and an energy now foreign to their character—they must cease to devote hours to their stupefying pipes, and to their heavy greasy repasts.

On leaving Grätz we crossed the hills which form

the southern boundary of the plain, and descended into the vale of the Drave, which is here a fine river, flowing eastward into Hungary, where it enters the Danube near Eszek. At Marburg, on its banks, we merely changed horses; but had the opportunity of seeing a good town, picturesquely situated, and surrounded by a beautiful country richly planted with vines. The climate here is far more congenial to their growth than on the northern side of the hills, and excellent wine is produced. At Marburg and in the valley of the Drave a few days might be passed with great gratification, as we ourselves indeed had hoped to have experienced, had not a friend been absent, whom we had expected to have found among his vineyards. The geologist would find considerable interest in the examination of the primitive rock which rather curiously breaks out from among the later groups, in various parts of the vicinity, near the village of Rast, and along the left bank of the river.

We proceeded on to Laybach, which we reached the following evening, having crossed another range of mountains which separates Styria from Illyria. It was ten at night when we arrived at the small village of Ganevitz, situated at their foot. The little inn was closed, its inhabitants all in bed; but our wants were peremptory, and we were compelled to rouse them up. The household consisted of an elderly pair, their two daughters, and a maid-servant; which latter trio, however, were all that we then saw; the more aged couple preferring to remain quiet under

the mountain of feathers below which they were no doubt ensconced. With their eyes still half closed, but their hearts full of the national good-tempered cheerfulness of disposition, the damsels soon raised the fires, broiled or roasted some excellent mutton, warmed up some remains of soup and vegetables, and, with very good wine, we made a comfortable supper; while our young attendants reclined on the chairs and tables around us, struggling between their desire to be useful and their deep fatigue after the labours of the day. Never were more genuinely kind-hearted people than these poor simple-minded Austrian villagers. We had ever found them so, in our rambles about the valleys of Upper Austria and Styria; honest, cheerful, and anxious to please; and never had we on any occasion reason to suspect an inclination to impose. Foreigners, Englishmen, requiring a number of things which English travellers alone demand, never bargaining about prices beforehand, generally trusting to our own communications without the intervention of a German courier, we still found their charges so low as continually to surprise us; and although that surprise was never expressed in words, it frequently induced me to make small presents to the younger branches of the household, which were ever received with a sort of affectionate thankfulness.

The road across the mountains, as indeed generally that between Grätz and Laybach, is in most parts

picturesque, and in some very grand. The weather was cold, and on the high lands lay a great deal of snow, which was also falling in thick heavy flakes when we reached the village of Tranz, nearly a hundred miles south of Grätz, and the last village of Styria. Soon after leaving Grätz we perceived that the German had given way, as the popular language, to the *Wendish*, a Slavonian dialect; and this, in its turn, after passing Cilli, we had found to cease in favour of the more general *Illyric*, another branch of Slavonic, which is the usual popular tongue all the way to the vicinity of Trieste, as well as generally, with slight variations, in Carniola, Carinthia, and a large portion of Istria, Croatia, and Slavonia. It has a soft and melodious sound. I saw a bible printed in it, at one of the small village inns, and observed the great prevalence of vowels, and especially of vowel terminations. As we proceed southwards, Italian also (which is the proper language of Trieste) is much understood; and by the attendants in most of the Illyrian inns, as also by the postillions on the road, Italian is more fluently spoken than German.

The Illyrian provinces did consist of Carniola, Carinthia, and Istria; but the present arrangements do not coincide with the former boundaries. Carniola (or Krain), with its capital, Laybach, and Carinthia (or Kärnthen), with its capital, Klagenfurt, both of them somewhat reduced in dimensions, now form distinct governments. Of Istria, the line of coast from that part nearest Fiume inclusive, as far

southward as Novi, has been thrown into Hungary. The rest, together with the coast westward as far as Aquileia, and some districts of Carniola and Carinthia, form the present government of the Littoral (or Kustenland), whereof the capital is Trieste.

The cultivation of Styria is generally good; that of Illyria not so much so; and the people, especially in Carniola, are, like their soil, very much poorer. Laybach is a place of nearly twelve thousand inhabitants, situated much like Grätz, in a plain surrounded by mountains, and at the base of a hill (whereon stands the fortress) not absolutely insulated like that of Grätz, but extending as a promontory from those which bound the plain. At Laybach we found very little to interest the traveller, save historical recollections, and the great work going on to drain the extensive marsh lands in the plain. At the office of mines we were courteously received by M. Mandelstein, the richter or judge of the Montanistic \* subjects of his majesty in Styria and Illyria; and, having received from him some valuable details respecting the mines of Idria, which we purposed to visit the following day, we were glad to repose ourselves at the excellent hotel of Malitsch.

\* The persons connected with the mines under the Austrian sceptre, and in some degree all individuals resident in the mining districts, are subject to a separate code of law, termed the Montanistic code. There are jurists, like M. Mandelstein, who make frequent circuits from one mining town to another, for the purpose of administering justice under this code.



## CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Laybach—Idria—Locality—Quicksilver Mine—Method of working it—Extraction of the native Metal and of Cinnabar—Miners and other Workmen—Unhealthy Character of the Labour—Hours of Work—Pay, Superannuations, &c.—Adelsberg—Subterranean Passages and Rivers—Caverns of St. Catherine and of the Magdalena—Proteus Anguinus—Bear Hunt—Peasantry of Carniola—Journey on to Trieste—Change of Climate and Scenery—Arrival at Trieste.

THE small town of IDRIA, with its population of four thousand persons, and its mines of quicksilver, stands secluded among the mountains of Carniola, about thirty-five English miles from Laybach. We continued along the high Trieste road for the first fifteen miles of the distance, as far as Oberlaybach, where the road branches off to the west. There the postmaster supplied us with horses for Idria, charging us for the distance of two posts, which would be equal to twenty English miles; but although we had an extra force of horses, and were driven as well as we could fairly desire, we were just six hours in performing the distance from Oberlaybach to Idria. So long a series of perpetual ups and downs, without ten yards of ground approaching to a level, I have very rarely seen. It was a succession of limestone rocky mountains, with

here and there a few miserable looking cottages, and half naked people ; into one of whose poor tenements, where we stopt to bait the horses, I made a somewhat forcible entrance, which rather alarmed its simple inmates. They were a group of seven females, probably of four generations, for included among them were infancy and decrepitude. The males of the family were absent—employed in such labour as the scanty vegetation in the crevices of the rocks enabled them to pursue—save one boy, about twelve years old, who, with his grandmother, tendered the meal of coarse brown bread to the cattle. Their legs were unencumbered with stockings or shoes, and the united patchwork of their coarse brown woollen petticoats and canvass jackets, appeared to the unpractised eye to afford less abundant covering than they really did, to the rest of their persons. Yet these poor people were not without comforts in their own way. Their apartment was large, and exceedingly well warmed with stoves—dark indeed, for the winds and the snows require here, as in Switzerland and Bohemia, that the windows should be few and small ; but they were well glazed and closely fitted ; and as to their rye cake and sour wine, although both were detestable to my taste, yet, as far as I could judge from their expressive signs, for by such only could we converse, they were themselves of a very different opinion. As we proceeded onwards, the cold was sharp and the snow deep ; and the horses dragged the carriage with considerable difficulty through it. As we crossed two

especially lofty ridges, the view from their summits exhibited an assemblage of mountain tops all around, swelling like wave behind wave in a stormy sea ; while in the extreme north-western distance, arose beyond them that grand Alpine range, at the further side whereof is Gastein and the territory of Salzburg. Thus traversing height after height, we found the soil by degrees somewhat to improve. There were small patches of cultivation, and one or two mountain villages, and trees of the fir kind in the more sheltered parts. At length we reached one rather lofty eminence, from which the road somewhat descended. It took a sharp turn around a projecting rocky angle ; when, at a stupendous depth below, in a small deep basin of green and wooded hills, we caught the first view of Idria. That view, so strange and pleasing, was alone worth all the journey. For several hours we had been toiling over rock and snow ; and if for the last two or three miles the hills had borne somewhat of a less dreary aspect, still all around was cheerless and desolate, when we suddenly arrived at the edge of this beauteous crater-formed chasm. The declivity in front of us was clothed with majestic forests, which extended half way down their sides, leaving below them a small green space, which, surveyed from so great a height, appeared like a bright and verdant lawn—and there, in the centre, stood the little town, which the eye as yet could scarcely discern. Descending by a series of zigzags and long doubling lines for several miles, we gradually gained a more clear per-

ception of that, which had at first seemed but a shining speck. We perceived the white church, with its little steeple, perched on a small green knoll, of which it occupies the entire surface—and, not far from it, another insulated height, crowned with an antique looking castle erected by the Venetians during the time they possessed Illyria, and which now serves as a residence for the Bergrath, or director of the mines, and for the government offices connected therewith. Between these two heights, which form its extremities, the town straggles along on very unequal ground; with a stream rushing through it, a second church in a sort of open market-place, some large buildings connected with the public administration, but scarcely any good shops or private houses. We found an inn of a homely character, but affording all we wanted—clean beds, good enough food, and, as usual, attentive good-tempered people. Our first visit was to the Bergrath, Mr. Prettner, to whom we had an introduction from the Archduke, with whom we passed the evening, and who, having favoured us with much useful information, settled that we should go into the mine on the following morning.

The hills about this part of Carniola are mostly of transition limestone. The one containing the mine is of this rock, alternating with clay slate; and in this clay slate is found the quicksilver. It exists partly in a native state, in globules among the slate; but it is far more importantly and abundantly extracted in combination with sulphur, forming veins

of cinnabar, which vary exceedingly in thickness. Perhaps, indeed, these might be rather called a series of nodules than of veins; for they are sometimes twenty and thirty feet thick, and then dwindle away at both ends to a few inches. The cinnabar ore is considered too poor to be worked when it contains only fifteen to eighteen per cent. of quicksilver, and is then usually abandoned in search of a better vein. The richest ore yields from fifty even to seventy per cent.; the residue of the bulk being chiefly sulphur, with a little clay earth. From the entrance, on a level with the town, the descent into the mine is remarkably easy; entirely by flights of stone steps cut at a convenient angle. The first portion of the descent is through the limestone; but we soon arrived at slate. Here we traversed long horizontal passages, and reached other steps, and so descended to several successive levels. The slaty stratum is very loose and incompact; and to secure the passages from its falling in, they are lined on both sides with strong wooden posts, eight to ten inches in diameter, at small distances from each other, between which strong boards are run from the one to the other, the top being secured by a ceiling of planks in a similar manner. We noticed here and there a post or a plank which had yielded or cracked; but the general pressure is so abundantly divided, that there is no danger or difficulty in removing such defective supports and substituting others in their stead. It has been the custom in working, when a place is aban-

doned, to fill it with the loose earth and to board it up; and many such we passed. The greatest depth of mine at present is one hundred and thirty klafters, or nine hundred and eighty Vienna feet, of nearly thirteen English inches each; but, having learned that the extreme depths afforded only a repetition of what we had already seen, the greatest descent which we reached was about seventy-five klafters, or four hundred and fifty feet. We visited one spot where the men were working at the native metal; and it was curious to observe the minute globules of quicksilver standing like a dew about the earthy slate, and sometimes run together in small crevices, to the quantity of half a small tea-spoonful. In making communications for further extension through the *limestone*, gunpowder blasts are necessary; but for obtaining the metal in the slate, whether in the globules or in the form of cinnabar, the pickaxe alone is used. The pieces of ore or of slate are carried off in small barrows or carts to the foot of the great shaft, through which they are raised to the surface by a waterwheel above. The quantity of native quicksilver, however, is of very trifling import; for, the annual product of the mine being from three thousand two hundred to three thousand five hundred quintals, the native metal forms of this only from a hundred to a hundred and thirty quintals. The rest is all derived from the cinnabar, which we saw in several parts in process of extraction. It has externally, in the mine, sometimes a dark brownish hue, but, on being

rubbed, exhibits its natural red colour ; and in many parts we noticed crystals in it, but of very small size. On our return, the first part of our ascent was by the stairs, until we had only three hundred feet more to mount. We were then at the foot of the first great shaft, when, to economize both time and trouble, we took our station in the iron bucket ; obliged indeed to stand in it very close to each other, but we were quickly and steadily drawn up, and soon found ourselves safely landed at the top.

The subsequent processes of obtaining the pure metal are very simple. First, as to the cinnabar. A large furnace or oven is heated with wood. It has an arched brick roof, above which is a bricked chamber wherein the cinnabar is placed, no matter in what sized pieces, partly in large blocks, and partly in small fragments. The fire burns strongly for ten hours ; after which the door is closed, and the furnace remains with its heat in for seven or eight days. This heat causes the mercury and the sulphur of the mass in the chamber above to be expanded into vapour, which vapour is carried through a series of side horizontal chambers, opening from one to the other, much on the principle of the distillers' worm, and the doors of which are successively opened. No artificial cold is applied ; but the gradual cooling before the vapour reaches the last chamber at the end of eight days, suffices to condense the quicksilver, which, falling to the floor, is carried off to a common receptacle, while the sulphuric gas, not so easily

condensable, is allowed to escape ultimately into the atmosphere.

Secondly, as to the native metal. The pieces of slate on and in which it is are pounded by stamping, and washed by a process very similar to that which I have mentioned in describing the gold works of Bockstein, on a series of planes nearly horizontal, which are kept moving backwards and forwards with a jerking motion. Water is constantly supplied; and the earthy mud passing on from one plane to another, deposits on each some of the metal (which, from its mere gravity falls to the bottom), until all is supposed to be collected. Of these planes the greater part are worked by waterwheels; but there are others kept in motion on the same principle by boys of various ages, of which we saw sixty or seventy so employed. This part of the process, carried on under sheds open on all sides, and thus freely admitting the air, is by no means unhealthy; and the motive of its continuance by the government, in preference to the more economical mode of working all the planes by machinery, is the desire of giving employment to a certain extent to the sons of miners, who are deemed too young for other labours.

At a short distance from the entrance of the mine is, besides, an establishment for making the artificial cinnabar, used as such for the purposes of trade. It is a combination of pure mercury and sulphur; but I am unable to describe it from personal observation, as the process was not going on when we were at Idria.



The only quicksilver now produced in Europe is, as stated by the Richter at Laybach, about 20,000 quintals in Spain annually, 3200 or 3500 at Idria, and 200 or 300 in Bavaria. In many other parts it is detected, but not in sufficient quantity to render its collection a source of profit. Of that produced at Idria, a small part goes to Trieste, where, in strong iron bottles, it is exported chiefly to America; but by far the largest proportion is sent to Vienna, partly for the plating of mirrors, but principally for the use of the gold and silver mines of Hungary and Transylvania, where I believe it is very unscientifically used, and needlessly consumed.\*

Except in the peculiar appearance of the native metal when seen in globules on the slate, there is little remarkable in the general aspect of the mine, or the mode of its internal operations. A great interest however attaches to it, partly of a pleasurable and partly of a painful nature, from its romantic locality, the description of the metal it produces, the deleterious effects of its processes on human health, and the exemplification it affords of the mining administration of the Austrian government. Fifty years ago, Idria was the Siberia of Austria. Here the victim of state policy and the criminal doomed to death were bound in chains and labour, until the noxious vapours of the mine should accomplish that

\* See Appendix to this Volume.

sentence which the mockery of mercy pretended to commute. Here around the entrance were the hovels which afforded a miserable shelter to many a noble dame, whose husbands and brothers were confined day and night in the depths below, and only permitted to emerge into upper air for some few minutes at long and distant intervals. All these terrors have ceased, and have given way to an administration as beneficial as the nature of the work can permit. Here are now no convicts, no forced labour, no continuance in the mine, except at the special desire of the workman, for more than eight hours in the four and twenty; and although the labour below is and must be unhealthy, yet such are the arrangements made to remedy as far as possible its evil influences, and such the adequacy of the remuneration afforded, that the supply of labourers petitioning to be admitted is considerably greater than can be received into the service.

In the whole mining department of Idria, are now employed between six and seven hundred men, of whom about five hundred work below in the mine. Those which we saw of the latter class, had a ghastly, emaciated, agitated look. The air in all parts of the mine which we visited, appeared to us to be good, the passages extremely well ventilated, and the heat no where very great; but it would seem that the quicksilver, reduced to vapour at great depths, permeates the rock in that form, and so passes into the atmosphere of the mine, where the people are at work,

slightly covered, and with their pores all open. It thus attacks their nerves, and produces paralytic disorders. In one part of the mine we saw two youths shovelling away the slate, who could hardly have been above seventeen or eighteen years old; we gave them a piece or two of silver as we passed, and I shall hardly forget the sort of hollow look with which they gazed on the money, or the trembling hand with which it was received. Yet, as I have just observed, terrible as all this appears to the stranger, the demand for employment in the mine establishment is far greater than the government can answer; and indeed were the occupation less destructive to human health than it is, its emolument, in these poor countries, might well be considered as not unattractive. The regular day's labour is eight hours in the four and twenty, in which eight hours the labourer is required to do a certain measurement of work, and receives for it the money pay of seventeen kreutzers or nearly seven pence sterling.\* If he does less than this measured extent, his pay is proportionably reduced. If he does more, as he may if by agreement he work in extra hours, he may gain twenty and sometimes as far as twenty-three kreutzers; but the number of those who gain less than the seventeen is greater than of those who gain more. Besides this money pay, they have the important addition of an allowance of corn, which is

\* Five Austrian kreutzers are equal to two pence sterling.

sufficient for themselves and their families, and in illness gratuitous medical aid. They have no other positive allowances, and no lodging found them; but may purchase at a general government store, a variety of articles of first necessity cheaper than at the market price.

Such is the case with those who are employed in the subterranean labours. Besides those, about three hundred, including nearly a hundred boys, are occupied with various kinds of work above—in the office of accounts, the stores, the cinnabar furnace, the slate stamping, and various other details. None of these branches of the service are found to be prejudicial to health; and in them the duration of labour is consequently greater: but among the workmen themselves there appears to be far less of that predilection for the upper, above the subterranean labour, which might be naturally supposed. In the common course, the miners enter the service at about fifteen years of age. After forty years' service in every case, and at much shorter periods when premature ill health has been produced, they are allowed to retire on what may be called full pay for life, namely, seventeen kreutzers per day in money, together with the allowance of corn, and the privilege of purchasing articles of necessity at the government store. In cases of casual illness, the full pay is for a time continued; after a certain period, it is reduced to thirteen kreutzers; and if the illness be such as to render them unfit for further labour, although still young

in the service, they are placed on the list of "Provisionalisten," and receive for life some allowance varying upward from the minimum of eight kreutzers daily, according to circumstances and length of service, and with the permission to increase their means by private industry. Medical aid to the sick, and education to the young, are in all cases gratuitously afforded; and the advantage of a somewhat more speedy execution of justice is experienced than that of the usual processes, under the montanistic code, to which all mining districts are especially subjected, and which is administered by magistrates who visit each in circuit three or four times in the year.

Having read the accounts of a museum and a school of mines at Idria, we were rather disappointed at finding neither the one nor the other to exist; nor even a common cabinet of the ores and crystals of the mine, of which, however, we had seen a fine collection at the Johanneum at Grätz. The school, which did exist at the time of the French occupation, was abolished on the restoration of the Illyrian provinces to Austria; the only establishment of this kind now in the empire being at Chemnitz in Hungary. Having taken leave of that kind old gentleman the Bergrath, who, now at an advanced age, has superintended the works and occupied with his amiable family a few gloomy rooms in that cheerless old castle for near a quarter of a century, we took our departure from Idria, exceedingly interested with our visit to it. We enjoyed a delightful walk to the summit of the

mountain—the edge of the crater-like basin—while five strong animals with difficulty dragged our light carriage up the steep ascent. After traversing again the dreary expanse of limestone rocks, we regained the high southern road, not precisely at Oberlaybach where we had quitted it, but at Loitsch, one stage farther on in our journey towards Trieste. Thence we proceeded to Planina, and at ten at night found ourselves housed at Adelsberg, where we were to explore other subterranean wonders, somewhat perhaps inferior to those of Idria in point of interest, but very far superior in grandeur and beauty.

The calcareous mountains of Carniola and Carinthia abound in cavernous perforations ; and in streams which after flowing for a time upon the surface of the earth, plunge beneath the rock, and may never more be seen, or may reappear at a distant point. More than a thousand of such caverns are said to have been noticed in a region of no very great extent, to the eastward of Klagenfurt, and the amateur who had leisure to explore them, would no doubt be well repaid for his trouble. Of those which have been examined, none can compete with that of Adelsberg, in point of extent and variety, and the singular beauty of its stalactitic formations. It is probably in these respects the most remarkable cavern in Europe ; and, for the preservation of its beauty, it has fortunately been taken under the charge of the government, who have secured the entrance with an

iron door, which may be only opened by an order from the police, and on payment of a florin.

This fine cavern is distant about half an English mile from the town of Adelsberg. The entrance, secured by the iron door, is a low narrow archway, reached by a narrow pathway along a sort of ledge of the rock, which rises perpendicularly on the right ; while on the left the small river Poik is seen to flow about fifty or sixty feet below, until it enters the rock itself and disappears. Within the arched entrance, we first traversed some low winding galleries, until the cavern opened out into a large and lofty space, at the bottom of which, in a deep chasm intercepting our farther advance, the river Poik was heard to flow rapidly along in the darkness. Our guides with their lamps took the best position to exhibit this first scene of awful grandeur—the huge dome above, the dark waters below, and three communications by which the fearful chasm might be crossed. We beheld a singular flying bridge beneath, just above the surface of the stream—a natural arch of stone suspended aloft above our heads,—and more nearly on a level with ourselves, a scarcely less dizzy-looking bridge of wood, projected across by the art of man. We now pursued our course by the latter bridge, and on our return three hours afterwards recrossed the chasm by the arch of stone. Proceeding onwards in a winding direction, through galleries sometimes low and narrow, sometimes lofty and grand, we first reached “ the Dancing Hall ; ”

a noble rectangular saloon, with a flooring perfectly horizontal, one hundred and fifty feet in length, ninety in breadth, and forty-two in height, which on the annual feast of Whit-Monday is illuminated as well as the passages leading to it, and people from Trieste and from Laybach and all the country round assemble usually to the number of several hundred, and dance to the music of an orchestra seated in a natural balcony above. Through other galleries and other halls, by pathways kept in excellent order, and quite dry save in some few parts after long rains, we arrived at length at the “natural Calvary,” a group of singular stalagmitic blocks, scattered over a rising surface, and well resembling a place of tombs. We were now at the farthest extremity at present accessible—being nine hundred and twenty-five klafters, or five thousand six hundred and ten feet, from the entrance. In our course thither, we had passed a number of side galleries, with their halls &c. branching off from the principal line, and comprising, as far as they are at present cleared and arranged for visitors, an addition of nine hundred and seventy-five klafters more, and thus making together an extent of nineteen hundred klafters, or rather more than two English miles of avenue. Of the astonishing beauty of the petrifications in every part of the cavern, it would be vain to attempt a description. They affect every kind of form, sometimes the finest gothic tracery, sometimes a forest of palms, and not unfrequently the most graceful folding drapery. One



such, of remarkable elegance, represents in a breadth of several feet a large hanging curtain detached in festoons from the wall, and bounded by a broad but regular yellow border following all the sinuosities of the folds,—formed by the slight admixture of ochreous matter which is combined with the lime. The multitude of fantastic forms has given rise to a variety of appellations. Here is the pulpit, the great bell, the virgin and child, the throne, &c. &c., and besides those already existing, it is very curious to observe the creations which are now in progress. We have in one part stalagmites, forming slender insulated columns six, eight, ten, twenty feet high, not more than six or eight inches in diameter, and with no visible stalactite above—in another part, stalactites growing regularly downwards, foot after foot, without any dripping whatever. Some of the columnar forms which extend in groups from the flooring to the roof, are two and three feet in diameter, while others are scarcely twice that number of inches; and nearly all that meets the eye is so sparkling with crystals, that for long ranges of space no spot of uncrystallized surface is seen, and hence the general brilliancy of reflected light. Yet beautiful as all this appeared to us, the cavern is said to have greatly suffered from the rude hands of visitors. Few persons are devoid of a sort of natural inclination to hoard up memorials of objects which they have surveyed with interest or pleasure—and in the indulgence of a trifling selfish gratification, they are regardless of the enormous

public mischief produced by the aggregate of small abstractions. It has been this unfortunate tendency, mixed perhaps in some degree with a superstitious devotion, which has stript the church of Santa Sophia at Constantinople, of nearly all its mosaic decorations. For a long period after the Turkish conquest, every stranger, pilgrim or otherwise, was freely admitted to the sacred edifice, and each purloined some fragment as a memento of his visit ; until at length when far too late, the government interfered to arrest the progress of destruction by that ordinance for the exclusion of Christians without special permit, which, however stigmatised with the brand of fanaticism, had its origin merely in the spirit of preservation. The Austrian government endeavours now to prevent further injuries to the cave at Adelsberg, by admitting no strangers, even on the annual festival, without the payment of a florin at the entrance ; and they have wisely secured, with a distinct iron door, one separate and more recently discovered line of galleries and halls, called “ the Archduke John’s Cavern,” from the circumstance of that prince having first caused the exploration, or entered it when completed. It is about a quarter of a mile in extent, branching off from the general cavern, and may be only inspected by a separate special permit, which is not very readily given. Having remained already three hours amid the beauties of the great cavern, we deferred our visit to “ the Archduke John’s ” until the following day, when we passed in it two

hours more with great gratification. The general effect was indeed inferior to much that we had already seen ; but the stalactitic groups and creations were far more delicate and perfect, and the crystals more numerous and brilliant.

Both beyond the “Calvary” and along the sides, are numerous entrances to further galleries not yet explored or cleared ; and many other such are probably in progress of formation. The rain falling on the external rock permeates its crevices and filtrates through its substance ; and carrying down with it in drops those particles of lime which form the stalactites below, must be constantly creating other cavities above. Thus the time will probably arrive, when the stalactitic accumulations will close up the present galleries ; unless, indeed, which is probably the case, a portion of their flooring be now in course of moving downwards, to form stalactites in lower grottoes yet unknown. The Poik carries away with it much calcareous matter. Within this cave, it is only seen or heard near the entrance. It then pursues its course northward under the rock ; partially appears in the cave of the Magdalena (of which I shall presently make mention) ; is then lost again for several miles ; and finally emerges from its subterranean channel, near the town of Planina.

The cavern of the Magdalena, about three English miles from Adelsberg, is of a very different character from that of Saint Catherine, which is the appellation more correctly given to the one I have

now described. If the latter has all the beauty and delicacy and fantastic variety of the gothic architecture, the former brings to mind the solemnity and grandeur of the Egyptian. There was something exceedingly awful in the impression made on my mind by the cave of the Magdalena. The approach to it is first over wild rocky hills then through a forest abounding in bears. Here, concealed from the pathway by a dark thicket, stands a perpendicular wall of limestone, a face of natural rock probably a hundred and fifty feet high, at the bottom of which is the long low arch forming the entrance to the cave. It is not defended by a door, like the other. There is no need of its being so; for the interior contains no objects to suffer by rude and thoughtless profanation. It has not, like the grotto of St. Catherine, extensive ramifications; but opens at once, through a short steep descent, into a stupendous hall, whose roof looks as if supported by enormous columns of stalactite, several feet in diameter, extending from it to the floor below. In them were some fine crystallizations; but the grandeur of the masses indisposed the mind to scrutinize the details. From this great hall we partially descended a declivity on the left, at the bottom of which was water. Again towards the right we passed along a passage, and then through a spacious gallery descending for a considerable depth, when we again arrived at water; and this latter is understood to be the Poik. Its general current is at a greater depth; and the water in the

cavern being the result of temporary upheaving, it flows here visibly only in the rainy season, and for a short space, after which it again disappears. Our three guides stationed themselves at various points, and, brandishing their large torches aloft, showed well this solemn cavern, with its huge pillars and dark dull waters; rendered the more interesting to the fanciful mind, as being the habitation of that mysterious animal the proteus anguinus, which, except in one other spot, also in Carniola, near Sittich, has been found nowhere else. This creature appears to be bred in some much lower subterranean lake, and to be borne up into these comparatively upper regions when the waters swell. We were told that during a considerable part of the year there is no water whatever in the cave of the Magdalena. In the winter and spring it rises through crevices from below; and even then is the proteus only occasionally discovered. It is found in the Poik (if the water to the right of the entrance be the Poik), in this cavern, but never in that of St. Catherine, nor in any other part of the river: neither is any other fish or living creature said to be found in the Poik after its first entrance below the earth. It is found also in the water which I have mentioned to the *left* of the entrance, supplied probably to them both from the same reservoir or river beneath. To this water on the left we partially descended, but the drippings had rendered the soil muddy and unsafe. One of the guides, however, stationed at the bottom with his

torch and hand-net, endeavoured to capture two or three of the protei, but on his attempting to take them they escaped under the rock.

On our return to the inn at Adelsberg, I saw some of these creatures alive in a decanter of water, where, by changing the water every day, and without any other food, they had lived (as their owner told us) more than a twelvemonth. They were about seven inches long, and perhaps half an inch, or somewhat less, in diameter; the form of body somewhat like an eel, but with four legs regularly jointed like quadrupeds; the two fore-feet having three toes, the two hinder two only; the legs about an inch long, and the hinder ones at a great distance from the fore; colour a greyish white; head very large, with a large broad mouth; two very small eyes, and behind the ears the gills of a fish. They have a double apparatus for breathing, and form a mixture or link of connexion between the fish and the quadruped. Doomed, apparently, to live in eternal darkness in the abyss of an Illyrian mountain, (for their upheaving into the caves must be considered as an exception,) it might seem strange that the creature should be provided with eyes. Some imaginative writers have deemed that they had formerly a higher locality, and that amid the various convulsions of the globe some retirement of the waters may have carried the relic of a nearly destroyed race to its present asylum. It may be more philosophical to suppose, that the small portion of light accompanying air through the

crevices of the mountains, although imperceptible to our organs, may suffice to direct the course of these more delicate creatures. It is evident from the length of time that they have lived in the bottle, that the light and air of this upper world is not destructive of their vitality. Those which we saw were moving about with activity over each other, and climbing with a sort of reptile motion along the sides of the glass. Whether their propagation has been attempted in other places, I know not. Some were transported to the St. Catherine cave and placed therein, mostly in the river, but partly also in small standing pools. Those in the former may still exist: the water is too deep and dark to allow the fact to be ascertained with certainty; but none have been seen or caught. Those in the pools have disappeared—stolen, it is supposed, by the strangers on Whitmonday.

From the works of Cuvier and other writers on Natural History, as likewise from the information with which I have been favoured by the conservator of the Zoological Society in London, I have collected the following information respecting this remarkable animal, which may not be without interest to the physiological amateur.

Order—Batrachia. Class—Reptilia. *Proteus anguinus* (Laurenti). *Siren anguina* (Schneider). In length twelve inches and under; the thickness of a man's finger—tail compressed vertically. Besides the internal lungs, it has three gills on each side, of

a coral red colour, formed like feathery tufts and which it preserves all its life. It has teeth in both jaws; the eyes, which are exceedingly small, are covered with integuments like those of the *Asphalax*; tongue, very small and mobile: the ears covered with flesh much in the manner of those of the Salamander; the skin smooth, whitish, and mucous. It appears to have some resemblance of a larynx, and utters a feeble sound, like the noise of the piston of a syringe. Between the gills are holes which penetrate into the back part of the mouth. The liver is divided into three lobes, and proceeds from the thorax to the pelvis. The heart, which is between the fore legs, has a single ventricle and auricle. The lungs, like those of the Salamander, have the form of simple slender tubes, each terminated by a vesicular dilatation. From the stomach, which is thick and coriaceous, proceeds a long narrow intestine, which takes three folds before it ends in the rectum. The spleen and pancreas are long and narrow: the kidneys also long and narrow in front, widening towards the rectum into which they open. Schneider thinks he has recognised traces of ovaria. The skeleton resembles that of the Salamander, save that it has many more vertebræ, and fewer rudiments of ribs; but the osseous head is totally different therefrom, and approximates to that of the Siren. The nasal bones are mere rudiments, and slide between the intermaxillaries, which latter have long ascending processes, and edges armed



with eight or ten teeth. Behind these is a parallel range which may be supposed to belong to the vomeres, with twenty-four small teeth each, continued backwards, with an osseous branch also furnished with some more teeth; and the under jaw is also furnished with teeth. The nostrils, without any osseous envelope externally or underneath, penetrate into the mouth. From the head to the pelvis are thirty vertebræ, and twenty-five more from the pelvis to the end of the tail, all of them except the very last articulated. On each side, commencing from the second vertebra, are seven rudiments of ribs, very small, and the heads of which are not divided. Except the neck of the omoplate, all the shoulder is cartilaginous. The pelvis is still less ossified than the shoulder, and the bones of the feet, small and slender, have cartilaginous extremities. The pericardium is enveloped with a cartilage, which might almost be taken for the remains of a sternum.

From these characteristics it will be seen that the great peculiarity of the *Proteus* (one, however, which it shares with the two other genera of *Siren* and *Menobranchus*) consists in the possession of both lungs and gills during the whole of life. All the other genera of the order *Batrachia*, the whole tribe of frogs, toads, &c., have this double breathing apparatus in their tadpole state; but they all lose them, together with their tails, at maturity: and, as this latter circumstance would seem to imply that these three particular genera, which alone

retain the tails, are more destined to live in water than on earth, so we observe, in fact, that all tailed Batrachians, including the *Proteus*, swim with ease and rapidity, but drag slowly along on shore. In the stomach of one *Proteus* has been found a small shell mollusc, thus showing what food the creatures will take in when free; but they have never been brought to eat in a state of captivity. Yet in that condition they will live for a very long period. Of some which were presented to the Zoological Society, one continued alive for four years, and the others for not much shorter periods, without any food except what might be supplied by the water in which they were kept. They lived in tubs, the water of which was changed daily; and they appeared to have an aversion to light, as they habitually sheltered themselves under a blanket which was thrown over a portion of the tub. The learned Conservator has expressed an opinion, that the texture of the skin is of such a character as not only to admit oxygen from the water, (thus rendering the animal independent of upper air,) but even to make it incapable of living *out* of water, as the skin would in that case become wrinkled up, and incapable of performing its functions. The experiment, however, does not appear to have been tried; and it may not be improbable, that, as in other Batrachians, a mucous liquid may exude from the skin for the purpose of its lubrication in the air. The *Proteus* was undiscovered in the time of Linnæus, but the Salamander,

to which it has the greatest analogy, that naturalist places among the lizards. According to Cuvier, he does so erroneously; as the Salamander (like the Proteus, the frog, &c.) is without claws; and all belong to the same order of Batrachia.

It was now the holy season of Easter. The weather was severely cold; and on the Sunday (the 3rd April) the snow fell heavily the whole of the day, covering the ground several inches deep. On the following day a party of about twenty men sallied forth to hunt the bears, which abound in the neighbouring forests, and which come down not unfrequently even close upon the town. A few days previously one had been shot within a mile of it, weighing three hundred and eighty pounds. The animals are traced by their footsteps in the snow, and when discovered are shot: the hunters have no dogs, and are themselves on foot. The chase is sometimes accompanied with danger to the hunters, from the animal turning upon them when he finds himself wounded: but this is of rare occurrence; and I apprehend it is as much pursued by the country people for profit as for pleasure, for the bears do great injury to the corn, and a reward is paid of thirty florins, or three pounds, for every one that is killed. As to Adelsberg itself, it is a small town, with fourteen hundred inhabitants, pleasingly situated. The people, as generally in Carniola, seemed very poor. Their cabins in the villages as we came along, often reminded me of certain parts of Ireland:

—the same plain walls of bare stone or mud-plaster without, and scantiness of furniture within;—the same sufficiency of fuel, and internal atmosphere of smoke striving to escape through the door, or by some crevice near the roof:—and the pig usually occupying, in common with the family, the best or only apartment. The women, habited in dark coarse woollens, and wearing universally (in their best attire) a white handkerchief over their heads, which falls down over their shoulders, have much the appearance of nuns. The effect in the churches, which we had seen crowded to overflow at Idria and Adelsberg, was very striking. The long rows of seats, divided by the central passage, are, as they ought to be elsewhere, all open—the men taking those on the one side, these nun-like women those on the other; and so great was my momentary surprise at first entering by chance the door on the female side, at the church of Idria, that I started back with the feeling that I had unwittingly violated the sacred recesses of a convent.

We remained five days at Adelsberg, and, had the season been more favourable for excursions, should probably have remained there much longer. We should have visited the lake of Zirknitz—one of those remarkable crater-shaped hollows, abounding in the Illyrian hills, which become alternately lakes in the winter and dry land in the summer; the subterranean waters, upheaved through crevices in the bottom, filling the basin for some months of

the year, and then subsiding through the same apertures, and leaving a soil upon the shelving sides, well prepared for cultivation or pasture. In various other directions we should have found interesting and romantic objects within the distance of ten or fifteen miles, which, from the descriptions I had received of them, would have well repaid the time employed in their survey: but snow and storm are grievous opponents of picturesque effect, and we were content to pursue our onward course towards the shores of the Adriatic.

Before reaching Trieste we had one more chain of limestone hills to cross, which form the southern boundary of Carniola,—advancing in some parts boldly into the sea, and in other parts leaving at their base a small intermediate strip of low broken land. We began our ascent shortly after leaving Adelsberg, and, on reaching the higher part of the ridge, beheld on our right the mighty range of the Julian Alps, spreading away majestically towards the west, where they form the northern boundary of the great Lombard plain. The snow was deep around us, and every succeeding eminence seemed only to extend the prospect of dreary desolation. At length we commenced our descent on the southern side. The snow now gradually disappeared. At the distance of about fifteen English miles from Trieste we observed, for the first time this year, the bloom of returning vegetation. The young trees by the road-side were

already decked with leaves. The air became warm and genial. As we advanced, there was something Italian in all we saw :—white, irregular houses, with outside galleries, green lattices, and vines creeping about them ; and women sitting in the open air, with their distaffs by the walls, and men and boys lying on the ground basking in the sun. About six miles from Trieste, at the village of Optschina, we passed the custom-house without a question being asked of us, and entered the territory of the Free Port. At no great distance farther on, we beheld, on turning an angle of the road, the glittering Adriatic at a great distance beneath, and the city on its shore, skirted and bisected by a little forest of masts. The depth however did not appear so great and striking, as that which had astonished and delighted us at Idria ; neither does the city, at that height, present anything of grandeur to the eye. The great elevation prevents its buildings being discriminated ; and the level expanse of water beyond does not afford that contrast which is so beautiful, between the white houses, the churches, and the castle of Idria, and the bright-green hills which stand close around them. We had still five miles to descend, by an admirable road, carried along in a series of zigzags and doubling lines, with a very gentle inclination ; having the city always before us, which it seemed to us we were destined never to reach. We had reason afterwards to regret not having then stopped to examine the very beautiful lines of contorted strata, which often

appeared in the marly formations by the road-side. It was always our intention to have returned to look at them ; but, although several weeks were passed at Trieste, the engagements and occupations of that busy place, together with the great heat which set in while we were there, unfortunately prevented the fulfilment of our purpose.

We remained some time at Trieste, and, after making an excursion into Istria, returned thither again, for the purpose of embarking for Greece. It may be convenient first to notice our Istrian excursion, previous to offering the remarks which may occur on the subject of Trieste.

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## CHAPTER XII.

From Trieste to Fiume—Description of Fiume—Situation—Anchorage—Commerce—Difficulties to the Extension of its Trade—Environs—Buccari—Town, Harbour, and Commerce—Porto Re—Harbour—Marianna Steamer—Hospital at the Entrance of the Port—Contraband Trade carried on from Fiume.

No one, being at Trieste, would willingly omit a visit to the amphitheatre at Pola. The distance to it is about eighty English miles by the direct post-road, which is in itself excellent: but as, from the rarity of travellers, much uncertainty exists whether horses will be found at the regular stations, it may be advisable either to engage them at Trieste for the whole excursion, or to order them beforehand by letter addressed to the postmasters at Capo d'Istria, Portole, and Pisino. In the summer-time the more usual course is to reach Pola by water, taking a boat at Trieste, and landing, as occasion may require, to eat and sleep at the towns along the coast; and the probability is, that ere long a steam-boat may ply regularly once or twice a-week, taking these places in turn, and Pola thus become the general resort of the holiday idlers from Trieste.



Neither of the modes I have mentioned suited our views. We wished, likewise, to see Fiume, and its dependant ports, Buccari and Porto Re, all now belonging to Hungary; and we therefore determined to proceed to them first, and thence to cross the Monte Maggiore into the Istrian peninsula.

The distance from Trieste to Fiume is five-and-a-half posts, about fifty-three English miles, which we performed in rather less than nine hours, finding the posts well served with horses, and little delay in changing, although we had not taken the precaution to order them beforehand. The road itself is very good, and in good order, but carried continually up and down over a succession of bare wild-looking limestone rocks, exhibiting scarcely anything either of cultivation or inhabitants. The few miserable villages where the relays are established (and there are scarcely any others) are devoid of resources, and present a population nearly naked; and we felt reason to rejoice that we had taken with us a tongue and a fowl in the carriage, or I suspect we must have delayed our dinner from German to English hours.

Over these open dreary mountains it is impossible to prevent much of contraband. A few soldiers however are stationed at every hamlet; and frequently along the road, and always at the angles where a cross-pathway branches off from it, notices are engraved on stone columns, announcing that all persons carrying goods subject to duty, and found

deviating from the *high-road*, will be arrested and punished as smugglers. It is true that these notices are written only in the German language, of which probably not one in a hundred of those who pass them understand a word; but doubtless here, as in other lands, it is an approved maxim that all persons are cognizant of law, whether they ever heard of its existence or not. The country improves as we advance towards the end of our journey: patches of verdure are first observed, then a few corn-fields and plantations; and at length, after traversing these dreary hills for fifty miles, it is delightful to look down from a high eminence and perceive the picturesque little town of Fiume, standing on the margin of the bright Adriatic. Several green islands extend in front, as if to protect it from the sudden assaults of those beauteous but deceitful waters; while all behind, arises in theatrical semicircle a range of lofty hills, here no longer bare and wild, but brilliant with vines and olives and groves, and neat white houses interspersed among them. A narrow deep ravine forms the channel of a small mountain-torrent, which, after turning some paper-mills, dashes through the town into the sea; and along one side of this ravine is carried up the steep acclivity that noble road the *Louisen Strasse*, which, uniting Fiume with Carlstadt, forms the principal access to the coast from the interior of Hungary. Its length is about eighty miles—the work and the property of five individuals; and, having traversed the whole of

it at a subsequent period, I hesitate not to designate it as one of the most grand and sumptuous roads in Europe. The hills rise so immediately above the town of Fiume, that a large portion of the habitations is built on the ascent ; and just above, overhanging the ravine, on an insulated plateau of rock, stand the picturesque remains of the ancient castle, now a mass of mere ruined walls, but in which its proprietor, Count Nugent, is reconstructing a few apartments for his own occasional residence. Neither must I omit to mention an elevated spot, not far apart from the castle, dear to the legend-loving population around. On that spot is reported to have rested, for three years and seven months, the holy house of the Blessed Virgin, borne hither by angels from Nazareth, and subsequently transported to its present station at Loretto. A column marks the sacred place. Close beside it is the village-church of Tersatto ;—its walls covered with votive offerings—those grotesque and somewhat ludicrous tributes of a deep-felt though ill-directed piety, which so frequently adorn the shrines of Romish pilgrimage. A path of almost continual steps, and a quarter of a mile in length, leads up from the town to the holy eminence. The usual small station chapels, with their emblematical paintings and devices, are placed along the side ; and from one of these I copied the following inscription :—“ Venne la casa della Beata Vergine Maria da Nazarette a Tersatto, l'anno 1291, alli 10 di Maggio, et si parti alli 10 Decembre, 1294.”

Fiume, and its dependencies Buccari and Porto Re, were to us objects of great interest, from the endeavours made by the Hungarians to force thither all the commerce of Hungary, to the exclusion of Trieste. In a separate work—should I ever be enabled to bring it before the public—will be found the account of our journey through Slavonia and Croatia, and our return from thence to Fiume by the Louisen Strasse; and any general reflections on the commercial means and prospects of Fiume, as connected with Hungary, may be more conveniently deferred till that period. In the mean time I will observe, that, as a place of commerce, Fiume is, and will be, of small importance: not, however, as the Hungarians are too apt to allege, from any fault of the Government; for the fact is that Fiume, Buccari, and Porto Re, enjoy every commercial privilege, and all that freedom of port, which is possessed by Trieste. Even a new Lazaret (the old one being deemed too distant) has been lately erected at Fiume, to facilitate a trade with the Levant, and that, too, without any charge upon the town. Neither is the locality of Fiume very different from that of Trieste: both are in bights of the Adriatic, subject to the same violent winds, and without natural harbours; and when the *Bora* (the north-east wind) is strong, neither of them can be reached. At all other times the access to Fiume is good. The channels between the islands in its gulf are safe to those who know them, and little dangerous to others; for the coasts are re-

markably bold, the water deep and clear of rocks (save one, which is well defined), and without shoals. Trieste has now the advantage of an artificial mole ; but Fiume might easily possess the same ; and indeed two plans are actually under consideration for that purpose,—the one, favoured by the municipality for local interests, and encouraged by the Governor, would be erected just in front of the town ; the other, considered preferable by many persons of high experience, would be half an English mile to the north. It is to be observed that the roadsted is already protected from the Bora by the heights above it, and that the principal danger to the shipping arises from the *Scirocco* (the south-east), and from the south-west winds, which at times blow furiously into the gulf, and cause vessels to drag inshore. From these winds they would be protected by either of the projected moles, one or other of which will ere long be commenced, and may be completed at very small expense. The commercial inferiority of Fiume, then, is to be ascribed less to want of protection, or of local advantage, than to the vicinity of so great a mart as Trieste. Commerce cannot be forced from its usual channels without a change of circumstances : it will flow to large-established markets, where whole cargoes can meet a ready sale, and where general assortments of the goods of all countries can be found for returns. Nor is this all. The regions behind Trieste, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, &c. are indeed mountainous ; but still they are traversed by good

passable roads and regular communications, whereby merchandize is poured into all southern Germany, and the products of the latter received for shipment in return. Behind Fiume, the Louisen Strasse, for about eighty miles as far as Carlstadt, is indeed a noble work, carried over and among huge mountains at a very small acclivity or inclination; but, after it ceases, the communications, either by road or river, are exceedingly difficult and tedious; and, besides, circumstances exist, connected with internal commerce in Hungary, and depending on the national institutions, which must be utterly changed before that kingdom can possibly arrive at any great mercantile importance.

The present population of Fiume is about six thousand five hundred; and that of the district immediately around it, and dependant on it, may comprise as many more. The lower part of the town, that built on the strip of flat land close to the sea, has one long, broad, and very handsome street, with several adjunctive ones, and some fine buildings. Among them is the theatre. If you ask who built it? the reply is, "Signore Adamitch."—Who erected that other handsome public edifice? "Signore Adamitch."—Who, those several spacious private ones? "Signore Adamitch."—Who laid out those plantations? "Signore Adamitch."—Who planned these excellent roads? who arranged this handsome quay? who, in short, did all that strikes the traveller's eye as useful or ornamental? One only answer is

given—"Signore Adamitch." And I was well acquainted with this man of eminent public spirit and private worth. He was the artificer of his own fortune. He had contracts with the British government during the French war, for very large supplies of oak timber to our Navy board. At one period he was exceedingly wealthy, and the town of his birth and residence abundantly partook of his prosperity. He was the father of Fiume; and, although towards the close of life, his ample means may have been diminished, by public liberality and a too ardent spirit of enterprise, yet in and about the city some of his family still reside, the inheritors of the name, and partly of the property, of their excellent father.

In the creek formed by the torrent, within the town, we saw a great number of small craft, spero-naras, trabaccolos, &c., employed in the coasting trade; carrying wine, principally, and some other articles, to Trieste, Dalmatia, and Venice; and bringing back a few manufactures and colonials, partly for the local consumption, and partly for smuggling into the interior. There were only two vessels lying in the roadstead employed in foreign navigation.

The foreign trade consists chiefly in the export of staves, timber, and rags; and the import, now and then, of corn from Odessa;—for, although Southern Hungary is a country of such rich and luxuriant soil, yet, from defect of the commercial system and the means of transport, even its own ports, together with Dalmatia, are fed from the Russian provinces of the

Black Sea. For the disposal of any general cargo, the market is too small: such all go forward to Trieste. The export of staves has of late years increased most enormously. In 1829, ten vessels only were loaded with them; in 1835, eighty-nine sailed under the Austrian flag alone, besides several English and Dutch vessels—carrying their cargoes chiefly to Cette and Marseilles, but some also to Barcelona, Bordeaux, and Oporto. The staves are chiefly cut in Sclavonia, often conveyed on the backs of men from the almost inaccessible forests to the banks of the rivers, and brought up the Save and Kulpa to Carlstadt, whence they are carted to Fiume. They are of a soft porous oak, which does well for the purpose of staves, but would not answer for ship-building. Fir timber, for masts and spars, is cut in the forests near Fiume itself, and near Buccari and Porto Re, and shipped indifferently from either of those ports; but the Istrian oak, for ship-building, is only derived from the forest of Montona, between Pisino and Capo d'Istria, and has now ceased, from its diminished quantity, to be an article of export. Rags are, with staves, the most important article of trade. They are collected in the villages of Hungary, and shipped for America and England; and this trade is, at Fiume, almost exclusively in the hands of one English merchant.\*

The country about Fiume is picturesque and romantic, and not many places have I seen, in which,

\* Mr. Smart;—a gentleman to whom we were much indebted for great courtesies and valuable information.



in the fine season, I would like better to pass a week or ten days. Circumstances however having urged our return as early as convenient to Trieste, we made one excursion only to Buccari and Porto Re, before we took our departure for the Istrian Peninsula.

*Buccari* and *Porto Re* may be considered as appendages of Fiume ; from which the former is distant only about five English miles, and the latter two or three beyond. Our excursion to them, in company with Mr. Hill, the British Vice Consul, afforded us a very pleasant day. The road from Fiume wound among and over romantic hills, and beside deep ravines, sometimes bare but much more generally covered with vines, woods, or other green clothing ; until, from a high point, we beheld the port of Buccari in the depth below. It is so completely landlocked, as to have all the appearance of a lake ;—oval in form—and surrounded with high precipitous hills, which, along the one side towards the north-east, are cut all the way up into terraces, and planted with vines. There they grow well, being sheltered by the hill itself from the furious Bora ; while on the opposite side of the harbour the hills are absolutely naked. The Bora blows here with inconceivable violence. It pours down from the summit of these hills, probably six hundred feet in height, and dashing the water up over the opposite side, renders vegetation absolutely impossible. I do not know precisely the measurement of this lake-like port, but conceive it to be about three or three and a half English miles, by one and a half in

its greatest breadth, with very bold precipitous shores. The depth of water in the central parts, is twenty to twenty-four fathoms, and even at the narrow entrance, which faces south-south-west, it is not less than twelve: and it is curious to observe, all along the eastern side, at a few yards distance from the shore, fountains of fresh water bubbling up with great strength, sometimes above the surface, and forming a series of little fresh whirlpools in the midst of the salt. The tunny fishery is carried on here with considerable profit, and in a manner which, although not peculiar to Buccari, is very different from that adopted in the more western parts of the Mediterranean. Along the banks, are placed ladders, forty or fifty feet in height, so supported as partly to overhang the water; on the summit of which is stationed one of the fishers, who take among them the office of watching, turn and turn about. The transparency of the water enables him to see down to a considerable depth; and, as the tunny rises towards the surface in order to avoid the pursuit of the sharks, the watcher throws down stones from above, in such a direction as to impel the fish forward into nets below, which other persons are stationed immediately to close. Some cargoes of masts and spars are annually shipped at Buccari for Genoa and other places—and the port answers excellently the purpose of laying up and repairing. We saw one vessel of four hundred tons in the process of caulking, besides many other large craft. The town itself stands at the northern ex-

tremity, with its little castle overhanging it, at the foot of a lofty precipitous hill; and contains, with the inhabitants of the hill behind it, a population of about eighteen hundred persons, chiefly fishermen, woodcutters, and people employed in the repair of ships and boats. Articles of not indigenous growth are readily procured from Fiume; and we heard, with some surprise, that this place, with eighteen hundred inhabitants depending on it, does not contain a baker. All the bread is brought daily by females from Fiume, a distance of about five miles. It is a branch of the carrying trade which the fair sex insist on being continued; and the establishment of a baker at Buccari would doubtless create among them an awful rebellion.

Porto Re was a place which we were particularly curious to inspect, from the importance which we had always heard attached to it at Pesth, as the natural position for a great naval arsenal. The Hungarians, regarding Fiume as their port of commerce, consider Porto Re as their port of war, and as one superior, for that purpose, to any other in the dominions of the Emperor. It is, like Buccari, formed by an indenture in the line of limestone coast; and the entrances of the two ports are not half-a-mile distant from each other. It is, like its neighbour, quite landlocked, with a narrow entrance facing about west, wherein is fourteen fathoms of water;—in scarcely any part is the depth less than seven or eight fathoms, and everywhere (which,

owing to the violence of the Bora, is certainly not the case in the harbour of Buccari) a perfect shelter is afforded from every wind. It is not true, as had been reported, that sand is accumulating in the harbour: the water suffers no perceptible diminution of depth, but the space itself is utterly too small for any important object. Forming a hollow amid desert rocks, it has in itself no means of commerce. It is too far distant to be useful as an appendage to Fiume, and too little capacious to serve as a naval arsenal; besides which, it labours under a fatal defect, in being absolutely without fresh water. Here are no springs (as at Buccari) rising from the bottom, or above on the banks, nor any stream coming down from the interior; and all the fresh water required is either caught in tanks or must be brought from Buccari. Still there exists at Porto Re a small ship-building yard, with two slips and some large empty sheds, and two houses near them, forming all there is of a hamlet; and here we found, lately launched, but still without her engines, a very large steam-vessel, the Marianna, built by an Englishman, Mr. Pritchard, for the Austrian government. She is a hundred and seventy-two feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth—intended to navigate between Trieste and some port or ports of Egypt and the Levant; and it is estimated that, besides passengers and the necessary quantity of fuel, she will be able to carry three hundred tons of merchandize. From an ill-judged economy, her two engines, then in process of

making at Vienna, were to be only of sixty-horse power each—a force not sufficient, in the estimation of the builder, for her due navigation; but she would be aided also by sails, for which her masts were properly arranged.

At the entrance of the harbour, on an insulated point of land, stands a hospital for patients suffering under a peculiar and noisome disease, which appears to have been imported into these countries with the other inflictions of French invasion, and which it has required all the energy of the Austrian government to arrest in its progress. It may probably be deemed of a syphilitic origin, degenerating into a kind of leprosy; as it first attacks and ulcerates the nose, the palate, and other cartilaginous parts, and thence extends in sores to every part of the body. It appeared first in the regions about Fiume and Buccari, after the earliest occupation of the French, and spread from village to village in Istria, Southern Hungary, and the Littoral, with the violence of a plague. It was communicated through families and communities by no other apparent means than the common intercourse of society; but its prevalence became so dreadful, that it was found expedient to establish special hospitals in different places, to which all afflicted with it were forcibly removed; and this precaution is still continued. The rigorous separation of the diseased from the healthy has produced such an abatement, that all the hospitals are discontinued except this one alone; but every year medical

inspectors perambulate the country; and all persons on whom any symptom may appear are hither immediately removed. The general treatment is mercurial, and its success is evidently triumphant; but still, in most of the neighbouring towns, sad objects may be seen—cured indeed, but evincing, in the scars and fragments of their faces, what their sufferings must have been.

On returning to Fiume, we heard many a story of the manner and extent in which contraband trade is carried on along this line of coast. One great article is of course tobacco, which being brought down in leaf from the interior of Hungary to Fiume, is there manufactured into cigars, snuff, and smoking tobacco, thence to be smuggled into Italy, and the Littoral: and the improving state of this branch of trade has well indemnified Fiume for her loss in the abolition of the privileged sugar refineries. Salt is the next important article; and in regard to it, an order has now been issued, that no vessel shall enter Fiume and its dependencies (and if I mistake not the same order applies to Trieste, Venice, and other Austrian ports) having salt on board, unless in case of extreme distress; and even in such case the salt must be thrown overboard as soon as the vessel comes to anchor. Neither was this regulation adopted before it was absolutely requisite. It was usual for vessels, laden mainly with salt, arriving from Cagliari or elsewhere, to enter the Austrian ports, and under the plea of distress to obtain permission for the trans-

shipment of the salt into small craft, for export to the Roman or Turkish states. The salt was soon deposited in caverns just outside the ports; and thence privately introduced in such quantities, that the great government depôt at Fiume, from whence that town and all the neighbouring province can alone be legally supplied, has in some instances remained absolutely closed for more than a twelvemonth together. Another article of contraband, in the inverse sense, is that of rags. These are subject to an export duty on leaving Hungary, which is collected on their passing from the interior into the free port of Fiume. To avoid this payment, it was a frequent practice, to convey the rags on the backs of man or beast by some unfrequented path, down to the coast, and thence to introduce them in boats and small craft into the port of Fiume, where they were landed as coming from any nominal place, and often from Manchester! There was no custom-house establishment to interfere; and when on one occasion the bare-faced extent of the fraud induced the authorities to make a seizure, the government, with an observance of public faith which might not have been followed in some less arbitrary states, immediately directed the goods to be restored, on their being claimed by an asserted *bonâ fide* purchaser. The government would not derogate from the freedom of the port, by an inquiry into the commercial transactions within it; but it wisely reduced the export duty of two florins per hundred-weight to one half of that sum; and the contraband

trade in rags is believed to have wholly ceased. Salt and tobacco are the most profitable articles of fiscal fraud; and next to them may be reckoned colonial produce, which was and is conveyed to a certain extent into the interior, but never in sufficient quantities to make it a very important object. Little is done in manufactured goods. The British cottons and other goods seen in the shops of the towns in Hungary and Austria, have been usually imported through the custom-house itself\* under the shelter of licences for private use; and I am inclined to believe, that those who anticipate any considerable addition to the consumption of those articles by clandestine introduction through Wallachia or Servia, will find themselves greatly disappointed.

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\* See this explained in the second volume.



## CHAPTER XIII.

ISTRIA—Departure from Fiume—Enter the Istrian Peninsula, crossing the Monte Maggiore—The Bora—Encounter with Douaniers—Pisino—Dignano—Pola—Government and Police of the Istrian Towns—Antiquities of Pola—Amphitheatre, Temples, and Porta Aurea—Depopulation—Climate—Port of Pola, and Forts erecting for its military defence—Austrian Sailors—Return to Pisino—Portole—Difficulty about Horses—Capo d'Istria—Town and Commerce—General description of Istria—Agriculture, Climate, Products, Habits and Condition of the People.

WE left Fiume on the 15th of April at four in the morning. Our day's journey to Pisino was to be only about forty miles, but we had to traverse the Monte Maggiore, and to do the whole with the same horses; there being no intermediate relay, and indeed the post-master of Fiume having refused to supply us with horses, this not being a regular post-road. With those, therefore, which we hired from a private carrier, we set out at four in the morning, while it was still dark. Returning for a short distance by the road which we had travelled in coming from Trieste, we soon arrived at the custom-house at the boundary of the Free Port Territory;—where, as generally has happened at the Austrian frontiers, our assurance

that we had nothing contraband, sufficed to save us from all examination. Not long after, we deflected from the Trieste road towards the south, and winding among some rocky defiles, we arrived in a couple of hours at a very wretched village, where we were to pass half an hour, in order to refresh the horses before ascending the mountain. On the earth-floor of a miserable mud cabin, built on a declivity at some depth below the road, to which we were conducted along a steep rocky path, and which possibly might be called an inn, we sat ourselves down to enjoy the company and the comforts of two half-naked females, who did the honours of the mansion. They were, as usual, prompt and anxious to serve us. They got us some good enough coffee, prepared in utensils of the most unsophisticated character, excellent new milk, and bread baked in Fiume; and—the hosts of the guests mutually pleased, as I hope, with each other—we proceeded on our journey, with a ragged good-tempered laughing population at our heels, among whom, to do them justice, no one begged for money. The extreme height of the Monte Maggiore is about seven thousand feet, but the greatest elevation passed by the road is not more than four thousand. The road itself is in excellent order. It is one of the great works of Joseph II., and is carried over the heights with much science. The ascent is long but easy, and the views over the Gulf of Fiume, its fine coast and beautiful islands, ever vary and expand as we rise, until the

eye at last looks down on the whole of Istria and discerns the opposite shore of the Adriatic. Snow was lying in the higher parts of the mountain; but our greatest apprehension was from the wind. The Bora had been blowing fresh when we set out from the village below, and we were comforted with the information that it would be requisite for us to wait, when near the summit, until men could be procured to sustain the carriage, as it would otherwise be blown over in crossing the highest part. The wind happily lulled however as we advanced, and we safely passed over the ridge without any special support, and effected our descent on the other side.

The whole of this part of Istria (the northern district of the peninsula) is, like the tract between Trieste and Fiume, of secondary limestone, very rarely clothed with even a thin layer of vegetable earth. The population is consequently very scanty and very poor. About noon, after descending from the mountain by a fine zigzag road, but over a bleak treeless houseless country, we reached our second resting-place. It was a hamlet of a few scattered houses; the chief of which was honoured in front with the imperial escutcheon, and called the post-house, inasmuch as it serves the purpose of receiving and despatching the letters twice or thrice a-week. Here, in a good-sized room, to which we made our way up an outside ladder and through a hole called the kitchen, we got a "dinner" of poached eggs and

a lump of something which I suppose may have been meat ; but on this point I speak only from conjecture. The eggs and the bread and wine, however, sufficed to satisfy our hunger ; and with the aid of no less than eleven cats, who came swarming about us from every corner of the crazy tenement, we were getting on very satisfactorily, when an individual entered, and with an air of much mystery, having closed the door, asked us whether we might perchance have with us any tobacco or other contraband article ; “ For,” said he, “ we have here a party of douaniers, who have been looking into your carriage, and have just gone off with the intention, as I believe, of examining you upon the road. Therefore you had better leave here whatever you wish them not to see, and it will be forwarded after you.” Thanking him for his kind intentions, but strong in the consciousness of our integrity and of our aversion to tobacco, we soon after got into the carriage and thought no more on the subject. We travelled on about a couple of miles, till we reached a little thicket by the roadside, when a scene occurred not unworthy of Gil Blas. Our driver came to a sudden halt, on perceiving a musket barrel directed at him from behind a tree. On this the bearer of it sallied forth, followed by a second, a third, and a fourth—all till then invisible—all armed with muskets and wearing military great coats and caps. Two stationed themselves at the head of the horses, and two at a short distance beside the carriage. Then came forward a personage

dressed wholly in green, unarmed, but with something of a small badge at his neck, who very civilly asked if we had got any contraband goods; but did not appear wholly satisfied with our reply in the negative. He said he must search the carriage. I remonstrated that we had already passed the custom-house near Fiume, and offered my passport; in return for which he produced a most lengthy document adorned with huge stamps, which he begged us to read, and stated it to be his commission of authority for what he was doing. Either to read this commission or to resist its authority, would have been too heavy a task. I told him we would descend; but, the carriage being our own, I could vouch for its having none of those secret recesses which he evidently imagined to exist. On this discovery, that it was no hired carriage, all was altered: our green gentleman would on no account allow us to descend; would examine nothing; lamented the detention he had caused; spoke, and doubtless very truly, of the immensity of contraband which was carried on through this region; and, respectfully taking his leave, led off his four musketeers on their return from their fruitless errand: and I am bound to add, too, that neither he nor they received, or in my opinion would have accepted, any fee or gratification.

It was five o'clock when we reached Pisino, one of the principal, though far from the largest, of the towns in the Istrian peninsula; having, indeed, a population of less than two thousand persons, while

that of some of the maritime towns is from eight to ten thousand. It is romantically situated on and about a mass of rock rising from a basin among hills much higher than itself. Along a deep ravine flows a small stream at a great depth below the city, which is perched above it on a high perpendicular crag of limestone. The water enters a cavern and flows on under the town; and in dry weather the grotto may be penetrated for a considerable distance: but we found the descent very difficult and somewhat dangerous, led on as we were by some young urchins, who made no allowances for the difference between their own active flexible limbs, and the stiff and cramped supporters of those who followed them. We found a sufficiently comfortable inn at Pisino, kept by a worthy German widow and her two most interesting daughters. Willingly would I have remained for the yearly festival then to take place in a few days, to have seen these sweet young creatures, with their holiday pink silk suits and garlands of flowers, trip it along in the dance with their rustic beaux; but, to say the truth, their individual loveliness is comparatively unobserved at Pisino, for beauty there abounds; and so it does generally in the other Istrian towns (except Capo d'Istria) which we had the opportunity of seeing. We had still thirty English miles of journey to reach Pola, and the regular post road extends only as far as Pisino from Trieste. The postmaster, however, a very obliging person, supplied us with a pair to go on the

next morning to Pola, there to wait the whole of the following day, and to bring us back on the third to Pisino; and all this for fifteen florins (thirty shillings) only, he bearing also the whole expense of the feed and housing of the cattle. We passed through the small villages of Gemino and San Vincente, each with its picturesque old castle standing on a rock, and through the town of Dignano with its three thousand five hundred ragged inhabitants and very wretched inn. But this last town has one redeeming compensation in the excellence of that delightful wine, perfumed like roses, and called the vino di rose, which grows in its vicinity. About twelve miles farther, travelling on through a country very unequal, very little peopled, but always clothed in green, our eyes suddenly rested on the great object of our journey, the amphitheatre standing by the way side, in lonely loveliness. Descending from the carriage to take a first hurried survey of that beauteous edifice, we left it only for a time, and in a few minutes entered the small town of Pola.

There is, properly speaking, no inn at Pola; but we found adequate accommodation in a sort of small lodging-house on the "piazza," to which our driver at once conducted us. It was kept by an aged pair, the husband seventy-two years old, the wife two years younger; and there they had lived in married union more than fifty years. They provided us with a couple of rooms perfectly clean, sufficiently furnished, and with excellent beds. Indeed, in travers-

ing Germany beds regularly improve as we proceed southwards. All over the northern and central parts they are detestable: even at Vienna they are too short and too narrow, and too imperfectly covered. At Laybach I found the first decided improvement in length, and at Trieste they are equally good; better, however, in this and in all respects at Capo d'Istria, and even at Pisino; and at Pola my bed (and my brother's was of the same description) was six feet and a half long and five broad, and with mattresses and coverings most luxurious. Our eating was certainly very poor; but the old people cooked nothing at home, and better fare might have been obtained had we taken the trouble to require it. I have known an English family pass a week at Pola with much satisfaction, and supplied with all that they required for what may be termed their necessary comforts.

All these smaller towns are under the government of a *Luogo tenente*, who is chief of the police and exercises, generally, the civil authority. It had happened at Dignano, while strolling about, evidently a stranger and probably rather uncouthly curious, that I was accosted in the street by a person requesting me to go with him to the office of this high functionary, who questioned me and examined my passport with airs of great self-importance\*. On our arrival at Pola we anticipated any such invitation, by paying

\* It must be remembered that we were here beyond the *German* provinces, amid a rather lawless population.



ourselves an immediate visit to the great man of the place; and a very different person we found him to be. Highly courteous and gentlemanly, he offered us many civilities during our stay; and, introduced by him to the official cicerone of the place, an amiable and well instructed young man, employed partially in the office, and encharged by the government with the supervision and care of the antiquities, we set forth under his guidance upon our first tour of inspection.

The amphitheatre is of an elliptic form; the greater axis, four hundred Vienna feet of nearly thirteen English inches each; the lesser, three hundred and twenty; and the height, which is entire in the whole circumference, eighty-one. Thus it is a hundred and seven Vienna feet shorter, and eighty-two narrower, than that of Verona, which, being asserted to have held twenty-four thousand people, the edifice of Pola may be considered to have held eighteen thousand. The internal fittings-up, the seats, &c., have entirely disappeared, if, indeed, they ever existed; for one opinion among antiquaries has been, that the building was never completed;\* but the whole external fabric is quite perfect. It is of what Montfaucon terms rustic architecture, and of three stories in height. The two lower ones are of open arcades, whereof

\* This opinion is held, by others, to be satisfactorily refuted by the circumstances of some fragments of the seats having been found, and by the external walls being quite perfect to their summits.

there are seventy-two in each stage : the third story above these is of less height, and instead of arcades has an equal number of square apertures or windows, and the whole is surmounted with capitals and cornice.

The amphitheatre of Pola is very different in character from most of those which I have seen elsewhere. In that of Verona, as far as the ancient work exists, in those of Arles and of Nismes, and especially in the colosseum, I have been struck with the vastness, the grandeur, the solemnity of the fabric, its enormous masses, its ponderous construction, its almost Egyptian solidity. At Pola, on the contrary, all is light and elegant. The external circumference and all its arcades being entire, the absence or removal of the internal fittings up has improved the effect, by taking away all appearance of ruins. The stones, none of them very large, and united by a thin cement, are of a whitish granular limestone, very compact and partly crystalline, which reflects the solar rays almost like marble. No rank vegetation climbs along the walls : it stands like the beauteous frame-work of a new unfinished edifice, not like the ruin of an old one ; and in a position where the labours of art are improved by the loveliness of nature. Little distant from the shore, it faces about west-north-west, precisely commanding the entrance of the port. Its back rests on the acclivity of a rock, of which circumstance the architect has taken a judicious advantage ; having so cut into the rock,

that although the three stories appear perfect to the eye, yet the two upper ones only are so in fact, about one-third of the lowest circumference at the back being formed of the rock itself, which, rising to the level of the base of the second tier, projects for a few yards into the arena, forming there a kind of irregular elevated terrace. From this elevation, the effect is of singular beauty—all around are the light open arcades, divided from each other by piers of wall, apparently so thin and slight, while yet the space within appears so vast, that the fabric seems rather like a thing of fairy net-work, than of solid masonry. Through one of the side arcades, the spire of the neighbouring church, with an adjacent building, look like a picture in its frame—while through those immediately in front, on the opposite side of the arena from the rocky projection, the eye rests on one of the finest objects in nature—the port of Pola, its lofty shores and numerous islands, all covered with the brightest green, and reflected in the purest water. From that point, we watched the sun gradually sink to the horizon; and such a combination, —the bright golden effulgence above in a cloudless sky,—the scarcely less glowing burnish of the waters below,—the dark green islands speckling the calm quiet surface nearer to the eye,—and all viewed from such a spot, and through these elegant arcades, —formed a spell upon the soul, a temporary restoration of earlier and happier and holier feelings, which the man hardened and deadened by long intercourse

with the world, will rarely derive even from the loveliest scenes of nature.

Excavations have lately been made in the arena, and chambers for the animals have been discovered ; as also a central cavity lined with masonry, which may have served the purpose of a small naumachia. One thing rather curious is the perfect remains of one of the latrinæ, and of a conduit of water below it ; and here, as I remember to have seen at the ruins of a similar edifice at Treves, there was a canal conveying water from the ground above, under the arena, there affording supplies for any required purpose of exhibition or of cleanliness, and thence passing on to the town beyond.

Some very few fragments of stone seats have been found, in which are chiselled lines of division, and the names of persons. Antiquarians suppose these to have been family seats ; and, calculating on the breadth allowed for each person (not exceeding eighteen inches), they infer that the edifice must have afforded accommodation for twenty-six instead of eighteen thousand people. However this may be, it appears at any rate evident from their discovery, that some stone seats have existed ; but it is also inferred, from there being so few, that the internal fittings, if completed, were principally of wood.

The other remains of Roman antiquity, although inferior in importance to the amphitheatre, possess in themselves great attraction. Here are two small temples, exact twins, standing side by side, and front-

ing what was doubtless the ancient forum. The porticos consist of four front and two lateral columns, opening into the cella, which is externally of square masonry, without column or pilaster. These six columns, forming the portico of each temple, together with the entablatures which are continued along the sides of the buildings, are entire, as well as the pediments, and are of the most rich and elaborate Corinthian workmanship. In point of elegance and delicacy of execution very few ancient temples can bear comparison with the one of these, bearing on its frieze the inscription—

ROMAE.ET.AVGUSTO.CAESARI.DIVI.F.PAT.PATR.  
TRIB.POT.

The other, which is imagined to be dedicated to Diana, is somewhat inferior in workmanship, and appears to have been erected at a later period. The buildings are very small; the extreme external measurements, including the portico, being only twenty-four feet in breadth, by fifty in length:—but they stand well on a high elevation and are built of a pinkish marble, the beauty of which still improves the general effect. The roofs of these buildings are modern, and one of them is now used as a museum, in which are deposited the various fragments of architectural sculpture and funeral inscriptions found in the neighbouring district.

\* I adopt the measurements of Leroy, not having taken them myself.

Another Roman relic is the *Porta Aurea*, a pretty arch in the style of that of *Titus*, but of smaller dimensions; of rich *Corinthian* workmanship, and with good *bas-reliefs*. The inscription shows it to have been erected by a lady, *Salvia Posthuma*, in honour of her deceased father, *Sergius Lepidus*, who had been tribune of the twenty-ninth Legion; and hence it is inferred to have been erected in the time of *Augustus*, or soon afterwards, as in the latter part of his reign the number of legions was reduced to twenty-five. The temple to *Rome* and *Augustus* dates probably from about the same period, since it was only towards the latter end of his reign, that that emperor was saluted by the Senate with the title of *Pater Patriæ*. It has some architectural peculiarities, and some deviations from the rules laid down by *Vitruvius*, which may be better studied in regular architectural works, than in the desultory remarks now offered to the public.

The age of the amphitheatre is matter of conjecture. *Strabo* pretends that *Pola* was founded by those *Colchians* who followed *Jason* up the *Adriatic* in the year 1350 before the Christian era, and afterwards were unable to return. It was a place of some importance in the time of the Roman republic. In the civil wars it espoused the cause of *Pompey*, and was destroyed by the troops of *Augustus*; but was afterwards rebuilt under the same emperor, at the instance of his daughter *Julia*, and made a Roman station and colony under the name of *Pietas Julia*.

It has been generally supposed that the amphitheatre, like the *Porta Aurea*, was erected soon after the honour of the colonisation had been conferred ; but many circumstances are held to render it more probable that this was the work of a later reign ; perhaps that of *Septimius Severus*, who often lived here, and at which time the inhabitants exceeded thirty thousand. Their number is now less than one thousand ; and of the seventy-two municipal towns formerly contained in the district around, seventeen only can now be numbered, and these are chiefly hamlets. The depopulation is generally ascribed to the insalubrity of the air ; but this is doubtless effect as much as cause. Certain it is, that *Pola* now, in the latter end of the summer and in the autumn, is very unhealthy. Out of two hundred soldiers, a hundred and eighty were during the last season more or less in the hospitals, and in few years is there a smaller proportion of invalids. The prevailing complaint is a low typhus fever, from which those who survive rarely obtain a complete recovery afterwards. The only visible reason which I could discover for this pestilence, is a small hollow in the green hills behind the town, usually filled with stagnant water in the wet seasons, and never entirely drained : but the fact is, that in all sunny climates human and vegetable life seem to be at variance. Wherever the latter luxuriates with the greatest natural richness, as it does in this part of *Istria*, there the former languishes and droops. *Zante* and *Corfu*—those

gardens of nature—are hotbeds of disease :—while on the bare rock of Malta, fever is almost unknown.

The Port of Pola is now become an object of interest, from the intention of the Austrian government to make it their great naval station, and from the supposition, that after they have arranged their port, they will build a navy to occupy it. The arsenal at Venice is inaccessible for line-of-battle ships, or even for frigates with their guns on board, save as transported on camels ; and even when the deepening of the harbour of Malamocco, now in progress, is completed, it will have only twenty-four feet of water. Of the insufficiency of Porto Re I have already spoken, while in the Port of Pola there is water enough for the largest three-deckers nearly close to the shore, and anchorage room for all the navies of Europe. It is as safe as it is beautiful. Vessels lie there protected from every wind ; and, except with wind at east and north-east, it can be safely and freely entered ; and even then, unless it blow very violently, the entrance being half a mile wide, and the shores quite bold, most vessels can work in. It is intended, however, that steam-vessels shall be kept at the entrance, to serve in case of need for the towing of vessels in and out. In the protection of the Port, several forts and martello towers have been erected in the heights around (one important one on the island of Scoglio Grande, which commands the entrance), and others are in course of erection. We found Captain Adamitch of the Engineers, a son of



my late friend of Fiume, in direction of these works, and being furnished moreover with the introductions of the Archduke John, we received from his courtesy every information in regard to these erections, in the inspection of which we passed several hours. We sailed about the harbour, in a large government barge (manned and managed by twelve soldiers, for here as in ancient Rome, the soldier is taught and obliged to perform whatever duty is required of him), landing at various points, and ever enjoying beautiful views of the town and the amphitheatre. No one should visit Pola, without seeing it from the water.

How far the efforts of the government may succeed in overcoming the insalubrity of the climate, is a matter which experience can alone decide. Works of drainage and purification are now in operation, roads are made, buildings erected, and all those measures adopted, which are requisite as preliminaries to the great object of Austrian policy, that of rendering Pola an important naval station. An arsenal, to supplant that of Venice, is to be constructed on the beach just beside the town at the upper extremity of the harbour, below an insulated rock whereon the Venetians constructed a castle upon Roman foundations, which has been recently restored and fortified. Of the various forts erected on the islands of the harbour and on the heights around, although I was permitted to inspect them minutely and with every explanation, I have not sufficient military science to

attempt a description ; neither, were I competent, would it perhaps be fitting that I should do so. They have been erected at a very great expense, and were still, when we saw them, giving occupation to a large number of artificers ; but, from the habitual economy of the Austrian government, as well as from the tardiness of their general operations, some years since will probably elapse, before the fortifications of Pola will be completed. Indeed, had the construction of the naval arsenal been the only inducing motive, it is hardly probable that these works would have advanced even so quickly as they have. The government were urged on by another impulse, of immediate apprehension. The clandestine occupation of Ancona by the French, in the year 1832, during a period of profound peace, filled them with excessive alarm. They dreaded that their own coasts might at any moment be the scenes of similar midnight violence ; and on a variety of points which they considered most important and most exposed, among which were Pola and Trieste, they forthwith commenced the erection of military defences.

We passed part of three days at Pola, gazing on its amphitheatre with feelings of ever-increasing pleasure, or rowing about the harbour and landing on the different islands, or strolling about the fine open country around, clothed with natural verdure and abounding with a rich diversity of views, of the sea, the port, the town, and the regions beyond. We

bid our adieus to the Luogotenente, and to the good old couple under whose roof we had been lodged, and who pointed to themselves as evidences that the climate was not so insalubrious as malevolent tongues represented ; and, having resumed our carriage, which, for want of a coach-house, had remained during our stay drawn up on the Piazza in front of the police office and under the protection of the sentries, we slept that night under the auspices of the German widow and her fair daughters at Pisino.

Our journey on the following day was from Pisino to Capo d'Istria, a distance divided properly into three stages, of which Montana is the first ; but as the supply of horses at these relays was said to be very doubtful, the postmaster recommended us to divide the distance into two stages only, and supplied us with horses which we were to change beyond Montana, at the intermediate town of Portole. At Portole we accordingly arrived, a town perched on a high eminence—and started from it with fresh horses, which took us very satisfactorily down a steep and long declivity. Farther than that, however, they peremptorily refused to proceed. It was vain to whip or goad or lead them ; their only pleasure in movement seeming to be, to attempt upsetting the carriage backwards over the little causeway into the fields below. At last, after a long *combat de politesse* between the animals and their driver, I toiled back up the hill into the town (and a more miserable banditti-like assemblage of hovels never received

that appellation), and insisted on other horses being furnished. Their price we had already paid in advance—six florins (little enough) for the twenty-two English miles on to Capo d'Istria; but, after sundry messengers sent in various directions, the innkeeper expressed astonishment at the obduracy of the horses, but added that there were no others to be had in the town. The dilemma was great, and very annoying. In my displeasure I imputed unworthy motives or intentional deception to the owner of the cattle or to the innkeeper; and in so doing, as in almost every other case wherein I have suspected unworthy motives to exist (and I speak as a very old traveller), I am persuaded I did so unjustly.—A good deal of regret was expressed,—assurances given, that the horses had never behaved so before,—and at length a decent man in the crowd said he did not believe his ponies *could* make the journey with our carriage, for they had been much out of late. “But,” said he, “as you think so erroneously about the detention, if you like to try them, you shall. If they once get up the hill about a league off, you are safe; but I doubt their being able to do so. However, you can make the burden up that hill as light as possible by dismounting yourselves, and letting the driver take off what baggage he can carry. As to payment, I shall just take over the money you have paid already, and if you are obliged to come back, it shall be returned to you.” The ponies were accordingly taken down the hill, after being well stuffed with corn, and

harnessed to the carriage ; and with many a misgiving we went forward through the open and depopulated though otherwise very pleasing country. Our driver, a smart handsome good-humoured lad, ever struggling to keep together the ill-connected fragments which composed his clothing, cheered us up as well as he could. At length, with a crack of his whip, and a merry laugh—"Non v'e piu paura," said he, "e passata la montagna." The dreaded hill had been in fact safely ascended, and on the little creatures dragged us till we were housed at the comfortable inn at Capo d'Istria, where we dismissed our young conductor full of surprise and joy at being rendered far richer than doubtless he had ever before been in his life.

While Trieste was yet little known, Capo d'Istria had grown to importance and opulence. In the middle ages it was one of the small independent republics, partly commercial, partly piratical, with which Southern Europe abounded—and it enjoyed a large portion of the trade with what are now the South Austrian provinces, until, measuring its strength with Venice, it succumbed to its great competitor. It thenceforward, with the whole of Istria, was subject to the Venetian supremacy ; and the architecture of the public buildings and of the larger houses, is still quite Venetian. The first view of the city, as seen from the Pola road at a great depth below, standing out in the sea, is very striking ; for it is built on a nearly circular island, of which it occupies the whole

surface, and which is connected with the continent by a long causeway of stone, erected by the French, in lieu of the bridge of wood which previously existed. The population is about seven thousand; among whom are many wealthy proprietors of the country around, which is richly productive of wine and oil. Its trade now is very trifling. There are but a few small fishing smacks and coasting boats in its offing; which latter are principally employed in carrying the wines and oils to Trieste, and in bringing back from thence the corn and other articles of provision and apparel required for local use. The streets are generally narrow and uneven, winding between solid heavy-looking stone houses, built in that peculiar style which marks all the dependencies of Venice, and among which we found a comfortable hotel of rather a superior order. Some benefit is derived to the town from the making of salt, which is carried on to a certain extent by individuals, but under the strict control of the government; for, as is elsewhere explained, all dealings in this article, in every form and shape, are comprehended within the limits of the imperial monopoly. At Capo d'Istria the whole of the long shallow inlet between the island and the main coast, is divided off by enclosures of wood into a great number of quadrangular basins, which form pans for the retention and evaporation of the water; among which are erected at the angles small wooden offices resembling sentry-boxes, one for every four or five pans, from whence the conductors of the works, as well as the

officers of the excise, can inspect the progress and proceedings. The government, being the only purchaser, fixes in the spring of each year the price it will pay for the ensuing summer and autumn; which the proprietors of the pans either accept, or, as is always the case with some of them, leave their works inactive for that year. Those who acquiesce in the government terms, make a contract to supply a fixed quantity, and that only; and especial supervision is exerted, to prevent any larger quantity being made, than that which is so contracted for and delivered to the officers of the crown. One complete day sufficed to afford us all the information we desired respecting Capo d'Istria; from whence a very pleasing ride of about an hour and a half brought us back to Trieste.

We had now traversed the interior of the Istrian Peninsula in various directions;—a region little known, and deserving of more notice than it has hitherto generally received. It is a country of perpetual hills, over and around which, the roads, excellent in themselves and kept in admirable order, are carried with a degree of science and expense which does great credit to the government. Pleasing and interesting views occur at every turn. The surface, except the district near Monte Maggiore, is all green. The hills, with that one exception, may be rarely above two thousand feet high, but heaped together in a strange and fantastic manner: and, if an assemblage of forms the most singular, and continually varying,

deep dells, hanging woods, villages and towns perched upon pinnacles or buried in abysses, and the whole country moreover richly covered with natural or artificial vegetation—if all this can repay the traveler for his pains, he may, even independent of the grand objects of interest at Pola, not regret an excursion in the interior of Istria.

Montona and Portole are both on the summits of high pyramidal hills, the lower parts of which are encircled with olives, and the apex surmounted with a castle; and this is the character of several others of the inland towns. Many a romantic ruin, once the stronghold of some great baronial robber, stands aloft on an insulated point, looking down on the green dell below. There is a great dearth of population, and of cultivation. The ingeniously selfish oppression of the Venetian rule checked and exhausted both; nor was the state of things at all ameliorated under the French. Since the country has become Austrian, there has been a steady improvement, and the produce is now rather more than double what it was twenty-five years ago. The oils, when well made, are not inferior to those of Tuscany. The wines are excellent—strong and rich—the *Vino di Rose*, which I before mentioned, is delicious. Of corn there is indeed grown sufficient only for the consumption of about five months; but this necessary of life is easily procured in exchange for the wines and oils shipped to Italy, Trieste, and Dalmatia. Near Montona, we crossed the ancient forest of oaks which



in her palmy days of prosperity supplied the Venetian navy with timber, as it did partly also that of England at a much later period; but small now are its remains of beauty or of grandeur. Most of the larger trees have been mercilessly felled, and very few new ones have been planted in their stead.

The population of Istria, like that of Dalmatia, is of two races,—the Italian, which forms the inhabitants of the maritime towns, and the Slavonic, which constitutes the generality of the peasantry. The fate of Istria and Dalmatia has in many respects been similar. They were both provinces of the Venetian Republic, and as such were subjected to probably the most tyrannical and demoralizing domination which has ever disgraced the profession of Christianity. Whether we look to the regions now in question, or to the Morea, or to the present septinsular republic, —wherever, in short, that proud oligarchy of Venice ruled over a subject people,—there we find their character to be marked by a rude and lawless ferocity, combined with the grossest and foulest sensuality. As a dark and suspicious despotism was the principle of the government within, so a selfish and corrupting oppression was its characteristic without. As regards Istria, the country was divided into eighteen small districts, each governed by a patrician of Venice, appointed for thirty-two months, and who, together with their subordinate officials, are charged with having habitually sought, by undue exactions, a compensation for the extreme tenuity of their regular

pay and allowances. The products of the country were, and are, principally wine, oil, and wood, to which may be added the fish caught and salted on the shores. The export of these articles was prohibited, except by passing first to Venice, where heavy duties were exacted on all of them; and, in regard to some, monopolies of purchase were allowed to the state, or to certain individuals. Under these vexatious restrictions agriculture and commerce necessarily languished; and poverty brought with it its too frequent attendants, violence and crime. The restrictive system ceased with the extinction of the Republic in 1797; but, during the domination of the French from 1805 to 1813, the unfortunate Istrians were doomed to greater pecuniary exactions even than those they had endured before. Wretched and impoverished as was the country, and cut off by the circumstances of the war from even a vestige of maritime trade, their new rulers imposed on them all the burdens of the French direct taxation—the land-tax, the door and window-tax, and the patents—together with the oppressive system of excise-laws, which were known under the name of the *droits réunis*. These last were abolished on the restoration to Austria in 1813; and the general administration of the country, fiscal and otherwise, was rendered similar in character, and as far as possible in detail, to that of the other provinces of the empire. Still it cannot be conceived that the lawless demoralization of character, both as to Istria and Dahmatia, which

was formed under the Venetian rule, and, if possible, aggravated by increased poverty under the French, should be suddenly subdued. Murders, robberies, and crimes of ferocity are said to be not uncommon ; and a greater watchfulness of police is therefore requisite than in the more northern provinces. In the fact however before mentioned, that the products of the country have more than doubled within the last twenty years, convincing evidence is afforded that under the Austrian rule the country is at least steadily improving ; and concurrent with this fact has been the increase of education, and the diminution of crime.

Yet much remains to be done, ere the resources of Istria, such as they are, shall be rendered properly available. With all the vices of the Venetian system, the export of salted cattle and fish was very considerable. At present the high price of salt, arising from the general monopoly, greatly limits this branch of industry ; and the pressure of taxation is peculiarly felt, from the imperfect mode of the provisional valuations ; while the feudal tenure of land, similar to that in Hungary, with its signorial rights and forced labour, renders the actual cultivators miserable dependants on almost equally miserable lords. Among the faults of the existing government have even been sometimes mentioned the mildness of the Austrian criminal code, which, with its slow and cautious modes of procedure, is said to be ill-suited for the ferocious inhabitants of Dalmatia

and Istria; but on this point, probably the surest test is experience. The Austrian government proceeds on its usual principle in those parts where its sway is unrestricted, of seeking to improve the moral character by education, and by a mild and paternal (though absolute) administration; and if its aversion to violent changes may have rendered the progress of improvement not so rapid as may suit the impatience of certain philanthropists, its solidity and durability may on that very account be the more secure.

Still, whatever be the measures of the government, except in favoured and sheltered districts, agriculture will probably never be extensive in Istria. The climate is very uncertain, and often severe. Violent winds, and especially the furious Bora, sweep along, tearing down all before them; and it often happens, that in three or four years one tolerable crop of corn alone can be obtained. Hence the people are more inclined to a maritime than to an agricultural life. The richest and most populous towns are those on the coast. Capo d'Istria has seven thousand souls, Rivigno more than ten thousand; and to these may be added several other cities, large and wealthy, on the margin of the sea. Thither the young men from the interior, who are not forced into the army, chiefly betake themselves; and from this circumstance the military conscription, which is only here in the same ratio as in the other provinces, is complained of as peculiarly severe. It may *appear* to be so, since it

carries off most of the youths, who do not go to sea ; or rather, it takes the first choice, and the rest go voluntarily afloat. The inland towns, thus retaining chiefly the children, the aged, and swarms of miserably-clothed women, have the appearance of excessive poverty ; and lamentations are poured out, that the conscription has carried off the arms necessary for agriculture, when the charge should rather be made against the maritime taste of the people, and those natural circumstances on which that taste is founded.

Speaking merely from our own impressions, I should bear no strong testimony of that general demoralization which is said to prevail. The diligence from Trieste to Fiume, travelling by night, and carrying money, has in fact been several times stopped, attacked, and plundered : but robberies of private persons are now said not to be frequent ; although, both at Pisino and at Pola, we were certainly recommended by our drivers not to be on the road after the day had closed, as "something might occur." Our own short and limited experience would lead us to speak of the Istrians as of an unoffending people, respectful in their manners, and apparently of a fine open character. They are tall and well formed, and make excellent infantry soldiers. The women are very handsome, generally of fair complexions, and often with light hair and blue eyes. Poverty, and exposure to climate, must in some degree degrade their beauty, but cannot efface

it; and in contemplating the females and the youth of both sexes in Montona, Pisino, Dignano, San Vicente, and generally in all the towns and hamlets of Lower Istria, it creates surprise to observe how generally fine are their forms, and how attractive and beautiful their faces.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

TRIESTE—Town—Port—Mole—Anchorage—Freedom of Trade—Lazarets—Quarantines in the Mediterranean—Conduct of Austria in regard to the Cholera—History and Description of Trieste—Population—Various Religious Congregations—Military Defences formed on the French Occupation of Ancona—Poles confined in the Castle—Remarks on the Republic of Cracow—Steam Navigation from Trieste—Coal in Dalmatia—Internal Government and Police of Trieste—Departure.

TRIESTE is a purely commercial city; and its present opulence and prosperity evince what may be effected by the spirit of commercial freedom, when faithfully observed and protected, even in spite of great natural disadvantages, and under a government by no means generally sagacious in its commercial policy. In the year 1719, when Charles VI. made it a free port, the town and its annexed territory did not count five thousand inhabitants. In 1804 the population had increased to nearly forty-one thousand; at present it exceeds fifty-five thousand; and every year witnesses a further augmentation. It has become the most important and prosperous commercial station in the whole of the Mediterranean; and has gained a large portion of that trade with

Southern Germany, and even Switzerland, which formerly passed through Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles. Yet Trieste is without a natural harbour; and the navigation to it up the Adriatic is at all times attended with probable delay and difficulty, from the prevalence of violent and varying winds. That which Nature has withheld, Art has endeavoured in some degree to supply, by two grand works, both of them executed in the reign of Maria Theresa. The first of these is the great canal; which penetrates the new city in a straight line, about twelve hundred feet long and a hundred and ten wide, wherein vessels not drawing more than ten or eleven feet of water may lie securely, and take in or discharge their cargoes in the very centre of the town, and opposite the great ranges of stores which line the quays. The other is the Theresian Mole; a mass of regular masonry, about two thousand two hundred feet in length and sixty wide, carried over and along a projecting ridge of low half-sunken rock, which extends itself in the direction of north by east from one extremity of the city. At the termination of it has been formed, by the improvement of natural circumstances, an irregular platform about eleven hundred feet in circumference, whereon are erected a fortress and a lighthouse; and thus this fine work answers the triple purpose of a breakwater, a beacon, and a military defence. It forms all that can with correctness be called the Harbour of Trieste; since within it alone can vessels lie in sufficient depth of



water, absolutely free from all disturbance whatever ; but the distance from the stores renders it in some respects inconvenient ; and the space protected is so limited, that, if quite filled, it would not contain beyond forty or fifty sail of vessels of three hundred or three hundred and fifty tons. All vessels not anchored within the mole, or in the great canal, must lie in the roadstead in front of the city. Three lines of buoys are laid down for this purpose, by which it is computed that about four hundred sail may be stationed ;—but the great majority of these are small coasting craft ; and vessels of three hundred tons and upwards must trust to their anchors beyond. They may do this, however, with tolerable safety ; for the bottom is free of rock or shoal ; and the bight, on the shore of which the city stands, is, when once reached, protected from the generality of winds, although not entirely from all. From southern and south-western gales the defence afforded by the Theresian Mole is but partial, beyond the small still pool which itself creates ; and when these blow up the Adriatic, a mighty swell pours in, the effect of which, in the agitation of the vessels in the roadstead, and the furious dashing of the waters over the quays, is absolutely terrific.

Except the sanitary regulations, no restrictions here interfere with commercial freedom. The merchant lands or embarks his goods, as and when he chooses, and no custom-house watches what he is about. The freedom from duty extends to the whole

territory around, included within the amphitheatre of hills behind the city, at the extremities of which, on the road towards Fiume and Vienna, the custom-house barriers are raised; and thus the inhabitants enjoy entire immunity from all custom-house or excise-duty, on articles foreign or domestic, which they may consume within the town, or at their villas in its environs.

Venice and Fiume are, like Trieste, perfectly free ports,—the privilege extending in both cases to the whole of the towns, and, in that of Fiume, to a large extent of neighbouring coast. These establishments do great credit to the sagacity which first created them, and still greater to the good faith by which they have been ever since sustained. In England and France, the most commercial countries of Europe, no free ports exist: the governments have never ventured to encounter the enormous contraband which would result from their establishment; and all that they have dared to allow is, that certain articles shall be deposited for a time at certain ports, without payment of import-duty, in bonded warehouses to which they are conveyed, and where they remain under the strictest custody of the revenue-officers of the crown. The same system of limited indulgence prevails in Holland, Spain, and Northern Germany. Even at Genoa and at Malta, what is called the free port consists only of a few warehouses down on the beach, outside the walls of the towns; and no article can pass through the gates, or be used

by an inhabitant, without the payment of duty. At Leghorn and Gibraltar the freedom is real,—the towns being included in the privilege, and the landing and the warehousing of goods being free from all fiscal restraint; and these are the examples which the liberal policy of Austria has adopted. A considerable contraband between these maritime depôts and the open country behind them is a necessary result of their privilege. In many instances bands of two and three hundred persons, well armed, have been known to sally forth from the territory of Trieste, each laden with a charge of coffee or other colonial produce, with which, after travelling for one night across the mountains, they have successfully reached their place of safety. A system of augmented fiscal vigilance has rendered such expeditions far less frequent of late than was some time since the case; and there is probably less of contraband operations carried on now from Trieste, than from either Fiume or Venice: but, however important they have been, and are still known to be, they have never occasioned any abridgement or interference, on the part of the government, with the commercial freedom of the ports.

The quarantine regulations are under the direction of a council, whereof the Governor is president; and, although in some respects complained of (as quarantine regulations always are) as being needlessly rigid, appear to be well and judiciously administered. The “old Lazaret,” founded by Charles VI., is a

spacious enclosure beyond the precincts of the city towards the south, and is used only for the reception of goods and persons arriving from ports of the Levant with clean bills of health. The "new Lazaret," a work of Maria Theresa, is of much larger extent, and is devoted exclusively to goods and persons arriving in vessels with *foul* bills of health; thus affording, abundantly and commodiously, the means of entire local separation between the two classes. It is a large and spacious establishment, erected on the northern side of the bay, at the opposite extremity of it from that whereon the other is erected; and, by means of two moles, extended over two projecting lines of rock, it possesses a separate harbour to itself, absolutely landlocked and detached, in which sixty sail of merchant-ships can commodiously find room.

The subject of quarantine is one of great difficulty, owing to our ignorance as to the nature of morbid infection; but it seems absurd to apply the same precautionary defences against diseases so distinct in their character as the cholera and the plague. Yet all the sanatory regulations in the Mediterranean and Levant are still adapted to the received theory of the plague alone. That theory is, that the disease is communicable by contact only, either with an infected person or an infected article; and hence has been formed a list of articles supposed capable of receiving, and consequently of communicating if touched, the morbid material whatever it be, while all other

substances are held incapable of such transmission. Even the list of these susceptible articles is not precisely the same at all ports, but everywhere the doctrine is established, that the plague cannot be communicated through the air; and hence persons in health are allowed to converse for hours with those arriving from suspected places, at the distance of only two or three feet sometimes between them,—precaution being merely taken that they neither touch each other, nor any common susceptible substance.

The doctrine of the plague being communicable by specific matter contained in woollen, cotton, or other susceptible material, rests in good measure on the fact, real or supposed, that the malady has suddenly appeared and spread, on the opening of parcels containing the clothes of persons who had died of it probably several months before. How far the contact with the clothes and the reception of the disease are absolutely to each other as cause and effect, may possibly not have been adequately ascertained; neither can we account for those local influences which cause a disease to be unfelt in Persia, which is highly contagious in Turkey, although the communication between the two countries, both as to person and goods, is subject to no purifying process. Nearer ourselves, too, the history of the plague has been attended with much peculiarity. At Marseilles, it has been several times of late years in the Lazaret, but, by a system of strict seclusion of the patients, it has never spread into the town, or even increased the number of its

victims within the Lazaret itself. They are confined to a peculiar enclosure, a sort of lazaret within the lazaret—and are visited by the physician habited in an oil-skin dress and mask, and who feels the pulse through an oil-skin glove. It has been there invariably observed, that such cases have only occurred when persons have had the plague already upon them before they landed. In no instance can any one be traced to have arisen from contact with infected merchandise. One of the most susceptible articles is held to be cotton-wool; of which thousands of bales are annually brought to Marseilles, from Alexandria, Smyrna, and other places, where the plague may have been raging at the time of the goods being packed. Every bale is opened, and the naked arm of one of the lazaret experimenters plunged in up to the shoulder. The bales are then retained and otherwise purified for forty days; it being considered that if the disease had existed in them, it would in that time have appeared in the man. Yet there is no instance of any one of these men having ever taken the disease; and the risk is considered so small, that they and the other servants in the lazaret are glad to receive wages, little if at all higher than the usual rate in the town. It is fair to infer from this, that there may be something erroneous in the whole system at present adopted; although, in our actual state of ignorance, it would be most imprudent to make alterations, of which we have no sufficient means to predict the result.

Be this as it may, it still appears unphilosophical to apply the same precautionary practice to so utterly distinct a disease as the cholera; which sometimes defies alike lazarets and cordons, and sometimes confines itself to insulated localities, beyond which it does not spread into immediate and open vicinities. Austria has for several years past given an example in this respect, which it is to be hoped that the other southern states of Europe will be induced to follow. She adopts, in regard to the cholera, no official precautions; but, treating it merely in the light of any ordinary malady, she thus divests it in the popular mind of half its evil effects. When we were at Trieste, it was severely raging at Venice; and we afterwards found it in Trieste itself, in Croatia, Sclavonia, and several parts of Austrian Italy. On its occurrence in a town, an extra number of medical officers were forthwith put in activity for the gratuitous assistance of the poor, and arrangements were made to afford ample succour wherever required—but no interruption of communication took place in any direction; no separate publication was made of deaths occasioned by that particular malady; nothing done to give it the character of a peculiar epidemic. When it was rife in many parts of Lombardy, but had not yet been seen in Milan, the only notice taken of it by the Archduke Viceroy, after having made all the charitable arrangements he could, was this:—he announced, that should any case actually occur in the capital, he should personally remove thither from

his country residence ; and this he did so soon as a case appeared, and remained in Milan till the malady had ceased. It was exceedingly fatal at Prague, at the period of the coronation there in 1836. Even the Archbishop of Olmutz died of it, a few days before he was to have assisted in placing the crown on the sovereign's head. Yet, with no small degree of moral courage, the emperor and his court allowed none of the projected ceremonials or festivities to be abridged, and they remained in the city the full time which had been announced for their doing so, several months before.

Connected with this subject, I may mention one of those minute traits of character, which so much endear the Austrian princes to the people. At the time when the cholera was raging at Vienna, the emperor, with an aid-de-camp, was strolling about in the streets of the city and suburbs, when a corpse was dragged past on a litter, unaccompanied by a single mourner. The unusual circumstance attracted his attention, and he learnt on inquiry that the deceased was a poor person who had died of cholera, and that the relatives had not ventured on what was then considered the very dangerous office of attending the body to the grave. "Then," said Francis, "we will supply their place—for none of my poor people should go to their grave without that last mark of respect ;" and he followed the body to the distant place of interment, and, bare-headed, stood to see every rite and observance respectfully performed. By some sove-



reigns, past and present, such an act might have been performed for purposes of effect and éclât; but with Francis the public believed, and in my mind, justly believed, that it was the mere result of genuine feeling.

Trieste, like most of the towns in southern Europe, has its fabulous, and its real history. It is said to have been ruled over by two of the Trojan companions of Antenor, and to have been rebuilt and re-peopled either before or afterwards by a colony from Latium. Under the Romans it appears to have become a municipium in the year 576 of Rome, and a colony in 635. In the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, it was ravaged by the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians; and, after three days' siege, was utterly levelled by Attila. Rebuilt as often as it was destroyed, it remained for a time attached to the Eastern empire. The Bavarians, Venetians, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, afterwards became alternately its lords. It next constituted one of those small republics with which the coasts of the Mediterranean and Adriatic abounded—and finally passed under the Austrian sceptre so early as the year 1382. To attest its ancient history, however, not a relic can be found, except the scarcely traceable remains of a theatre, and a few inscription-bearing stones, existing chiefly in the walls of some of the churches. The city, as it now stands, comprises what are termed the old and the new. The former, like most com-

paratively ancient owns, has its streets dark, narrow, and winding, and many of them running up the steep ascent of rock, at the foot of which it principally stands. The new town, on the contrary, is composed of handsome streets all at right angles, and partially intersected by the great ship canal—while between the new and the old town runs the very handsome “Corso,” the greatest general thoroughfare, broad but winding, adorned with good shops, and opening successively into spacious and handsome “places.” In the largest of these “places,” is the best hotel, the Locanda Grande; facing on the one side the harbour and shipping, with the mole and the lighthouse beyond, on the other, the Piazza Grande, with its fine fountain and column in the centre. This Piazza Grande is the market of fruit and vegetables: and to us, who had just escaped from the chilly regions of the north, it was a delightful thing to stroll along over its broad white flags under a hot sun and clear blue sky, ever hearing around us the congenial music of Italian sounds, and enjoying the glow and the fragrance of mountains of fresh oranges and lemons, here daily piled up in astonishing profusion. Italian is the general language, although several others, the German, the Illyric, &c. may be occasionally intermixed with it; but the population exhibits in their persons little of Italian beauty. They are of too mixed a breed;—and the commixture of Greek and African and Venetian and German and Slavonian blood, has produced ungraceful forms,

harsh features and murky complexions. The variety of costumes however, Asiatic, African, and European, continually passing in the streets (which, like those of Florence, are all paved with broad flag stones), affords perpetual amusement ; and in all parts are seen the indications of active and prosperous commerce. Corresponding with this commercial prosperity, is the character of the institutions. The great theatre is spacious and handsome, and there are minor theatres for persons less able to encounter its expense. The Exchange, the several club-rooms, where numerous foreign journals and magazines (including the Times and Galignani) are received, the insurance companies, with their commercial and maritime registers, &c., are all on the best footing ; but people are too much occupied here, to attend to literature or the arts. It was long ere we could learn the site of a public library or of any scientific museums ; and little resource exists for unoccupied persons, save at the close of the day, in the opera or in private society. This last is abundant. The principal English mercantile families, ten or twelve in number, with their worthy consul at their head, are sociable among themselves, and hospitable to strangers, and they have by their subscriptions built an elegant chapel, where English divine service is performed by the resident chaplain, our kind friend the Rev. Mr. Battescombe ; who, although placed, in the spirit of German formality, under the nominal supervision of the Lutheran synod at Vienna, enjoys for him-

self his chapel, and his congregation, absolute real independence. We partook of the hospitalities of several of the native families, and received from the governor the greatest courtesies. As in all large commercial towns, the expense of living is dear compared with the neighbouring country,—house-rent especially so,—and, considering the freedom of the port, we were surprised to find in the retail shops so few foreign articles of a superior kind;—common goods alone, French, English, Italian, and Turkish, being therein abundant.

In the varied and rapidly increasing population, there are of course diversities of religious creed. The Roman Catholic persuasion, however, embraces fully two-thirds of the whole; and it is a matter of just complaint, that they have for their services only six churches, including the Cathedral, two parish churches (and two only), a church of Benedictine nuns, and two chapels. Such indeed is the inadequacy of the accommodation, that on every Sunday, even in the most inclement season, may be seen a large proportion of the congregation covering the streets around and near the portals, and thus only technically assisting at the sacrificial ceremony from which they are corporeally excluded. The Protestants on the other hand, both the Lutheran and the Helvetic, as well as the Jews, have their respective places of worship, adequate and commodious; but the finest religious edifices of Trieste are the two churches of the Greeks, the one on the quay in front of the

port, the other at the head of the great canal, both of which are richly and elegantly decorated, and the latter of them of great architectural beauty. The Cathedral is an ancient and gloomy pile, perched on a craggy hill at one extremity of the old city; and not far from it, on a higher eminence, stands the ancient castle. It formerly constituted the main defence of the place, and as such sustained a siege from the French;—but in later years it served little other purpose than that of a signal station for communicating with vessels in the offing.

The occupation of Ancona by the French in 1832, restored the castle to its original destination. That midnight seizure of a town belonging to a friendly power, in defiance of all public law, and in breach of all diplomatic assurances, fearfully alarmed the Austrian government. They apprehended that the friendly expressions of France towards themselves might be attended with similar perfidy of action; and they forthwith took measures to secure their more exposed positions from hostile *coups de main* in periods of general peace. The castle of Trieste was one of the points now accordingly fortified, and it is at present in a respectable state of defence. It was in one of our rambles about the town, that the commanding officer of engineers, to whose courtesies we were in many instances greatly indebted, had the goodness to accompany us to the fortress, and to exhibit to us all that it contained. Among its inmates at that time, were a large body of Polish officers and gentlemen,

to whom the Austrian government had assigned this as a temporary place of confinement, until they should embark for an ulterior destination on board vessels waiting in the offing to receive them. They had been implicated in the revolutionary movements at Cracow and in Russian Poland, and in order to escape the vengeance of Russia, had surrendered to, or accepted the protection of Austria, which was offered them on the condition that they would embark forthwith for America. They had been conveyed to Trieste for that purpose; but on arrival there, they refused to proceed to their Transatlantic destination, and the Austrian government was so far from compelling them to do so, that it allowed them to remain some time at Trieste, and thence, at their own request, to receive passports for France, to which country the greater part of them were conveyed. These ill-judging and unfortunate persons were, when we saw them, confined to the walls of the castle, and they were permitted to hold no intercourse beyond them—a restriction which hardly appears unjust, as they declined fulfilling the conditions which, whether wisely or unwisely, they had accepted at the time of their surrender—and as no other destination was then provided to which they could go. The conduct of Austria indeed has been far from harsh towards Poland. At the Congress of Vienna she urged the re-establishment of that ancient kingdom, and would have ceded her Gallicia for that purpose, taking an indemnity in other quarters; but Russia and Prussia

could not be prevailed on to give up their portions of the plundered provinces. At later periods something approaching to a similar arrangement might probably have been effected, had the policy of England and France created in Austria confidence instead of distrust. In the arrangements which did take place at Vienna, it was mainly the jealousy of Austria towards Prussia and Russia, which generated that strange political abortion, the Republic of Cracow. Neither of the three would concede the possession of that place to the others, and hence, by mutual compromise, arose the absurd anomaly of an independent republic, a few square acres only in extent, in the midst between three mighty states, all governed on purely monarchical principles. It must necessarily happen, that whensoever any political movement great or small should occur, such a place would become the resort of all who might wish, with reason or without, to disturb the existing governments around. It must no less necessarily happen, that these governments would take effective measures to suppress that privilege of asylum, which thus became a volcano of disturbance to their own dominions. The fault is not in those who sought the benefit of the immunity, but in those who held forth in appearance that which could not exist in reality; and while Austria therefore concurred in the necessity of suppressing the perverted privileges of the nominal republic, she acted justly in saving from the fury of Russia, those who would otherwise have been its victims. Her conduct was

decried as arbitrary in Western Europe ; but by the Poles themselves (at least those chiefs among them who could form an honest judgment) it was felt to be substantially humane.

Reverting now from this digression, little more remains to be said of Trieste. Among the sources of its increasing opulence, will be that of its steam navigation. At the time of which I write, such was only established between Trieste and Venice ; the steamers going to and fro twice a week, starting about ten at night, and making the voyage in about eight hours ; but before these pages can pass the press, it is probable that steam communication will have been extended in various other directions. It is an object which has much engaged the attention of the government. One large vessel I have mentioned to have seen nearly completed at Porto Re, which was first intended to ply between Trieste and Alexandria, but will now receive another direction. This is a property of the government ; but its wish is to create private companies, like that established for the Danube, who shall undertake the communications with the east and the west, in connection or in competition with those from Marseilles. Coal has long been known to exist in Dalmatia and Istria ; and, in order to effect its extraction, the Prince de Metternich several years ago constituted a company, with the exclusive privilege of working all such as might be found in those countries. For the assurance of greater



protection to the shareholders, he took the privilege first in his own name, and subsequently yielded it up to them, with the reserve of a few shares for himself; but during four or five years this company remained inactive; and when afterwards, on his remonstrance, an agent was appointed, and labours commenced, loss resulted instead of gain. The coal had indeed been found in Dalmatia, good and abundant; but the operations had been commenced on a spot rather distant from the coast, with which it had no natural means of communication, and the coal was actually conveyed down for shipment on the backs of horses, of which the greater part moreover were brought from other provinces for the purpose, as those of Dalmatia had not the requisite strength. It was evident that management such as this could end only in ruin to the enterprise. The company requested and obtained permission to surrender their privilege; but the prince, assisted by a few enlightened individuals, determined on carrying forward the attempt, and they have done so with success. Abandoning the former site of operations, they have discovered, near Sebenico in Dalmatia, an abundant bed of excellent coal close beside a river, which affords the means of cheap and easy transport. Decided profit had already, when we were at Trieste, attended the shipments made to that place; and, if a sound system of management be established and persevered in, these works may constitute no inconsiderable source both of public and private emolument.

Trieste has the advantages and prosperity, as also the attendant evils, of great commercial places. The crown, respecting its freedom of port, and wishing to render that freedom as perfect as possible, interferes less in its internal government than is its usual practice in the inland cities. The local administration is chiefly left to the municipal body, with little interference on the part of the crown; but from the heavy local rates which are raised, and the complaints which are uttered of the injudicious mode in which their products are applied, as well as from the general condition of the city in several important respects, it may be apprehended that at Trieste, as in other places, the public at large derive little benefit from incorporated privileges. The inadequacy of churches and of clergy of the established religion, for the proper edification of the people, has been already noticed. That of the schools, for the rapidly increasing population, is perhaps still more to be lamented; and even of such of these as do exist, the supervision is very imperfect, from the paucity of parochial ministers. The police is lax and ineffective. Offences against person and property are far less rare than in the generality of the German provinces. Great commercial prosperity brings with it great extremes of luxury and of misery: and performers are engaged for the opera of Trieste at salaries which would appal the managers at Vienna, while more of importunate mendicity and of squalid poverty may be seen about the streets, than in those of any other Austrian city.

Our days had here glided happily along, in the hospitable society of many an excellent friend. That of Count Nugent, who held the military command of these provinces, and who, English by family and language, is at once English and Austrian in kindness and in courtesy, was to us as valuable in information as it was agreeable in intercourse. In the governor, M. Baumgarten, we found one of those plain, unaffected, practical and obliging persons who are usually placed at the head of the civil administration in the provinces: and, among the English residents, I had the opportunity of renewing some intimacies, especially with my old friend Mr. Moore, the American Consul, which length of separation and diversity of pursuit had necessarily severed, without ever impairing the mutual regard with which they had been formerly cemented.

Our sojourn in the Austrian states was now terminated for a time. It had been to us a period of great interest, and great enjoyment. In all parts, and from all classes, we had received always courtesy, often friendship—and we bid adieu for some months to its hospitable shores, with feelings of sincere and affectionate regret.

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## APPENDIX.

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### Some Account of the Saxon Mines, and of the Process of Amalgamation adopted at Freyberg.

IN the account of our visit to Idria, it has been mentioned that a large proportion of the quicksilver there produced, is employed for the extraction of the precious metals in the mines of northern Hungary and Transylvania, where the system adopted is said to be neither skilful nor economical. It is at Freyberg in Saxony, that the curious and delicate processes of amalgamation have been brought to the greatest perfection, and are at this time most scientifically practised:—and, as well with a view to the explanation of those processes themselves, as on the score of the general interest on a broader scale, which attaches to the Saxon mining capital as the great school of Wernerian science, I am led to subjoin the following notices of the excursion we made to it from Dresden, from whence it is distant scarcely so much as twenty English miles.

On quitting Dresden, the road for the first nine miles, as far as the village and post-house of Tharant, passes along a valley, generally very narrow, and adorned with a stream running through it between two cliffs of old red sandstone, often nearly perpendicular, and richly clothed with wood. In one part the cliffs recede into the form of a basin, wherein coal of tolerable quality is found, which is employed considerably for the mining furnaces, but rarely for domestic use. Tharant itself is a beautiful village, standing partly

beside the stream in the depth of the vale, and partly extending among the trees which cover the sides of the hills above it;—and on one insulated point of rock stands the simple village church, and on another might be described the ruins of an antique castle almost concealed by the luxuriant foliage around it.

On leaving Tharant, we quitted the sandstone vale, and ascended the hills by a road carried chiefly in zigzags up the side, amid forests first of oak, beech, &c., and subsequently of pine, until we attained an elevated plain, which, with occasional and considerable undulations, we traversed on to Freyberg. This plain is entirely of gneiss; save that a little patch of granite appears near Tharant, and here and there may be seen some porphyritic veins. The surface of the gneiss is bare and dreary, but it is furrowed by frequent fissures, each with its little stream, richly wooded, and well peopled; and thus the environs of Freyberg are in fact picturesque and diversified, although when viewed generally from the road, the city appears to the eye to stand high and lonely on a desolate and dreary plain of rock, without a tree or an enclosure near it.

The Erzgebirge, or Ore-mountains, is a range of hills, which take their appellation from their metallic treasures. Freyberg, the central and principal town of this great mining district, contains about ten thousand inhabitants, with two small inns, neither of them very brilliant, but sufficient, as we experienced, to supply all that our wants required during the two or three days in which we were the inmates of one of them. The place is endeared to geological science, by the recollections of Werner; and among the memorials of that great man, is still preserved unaltered the original museum formed by himself. Other collections have been superadded in various branches,—the whole forming an aggregate exceedingly rich in ores of silver, copper,

lead, and tin, in all their forms, combinations, and crystallizations, as found both in the immediate vicinity and in other countries. Connected with this museum is another, comprising general geological specimens, especially such as relate to mines, specimens illustrative of the run of veins, concurrent and divergent lines of metal, and other circumstances of mineral peculiarity: and united in the same building is a collection of models of machines used in mines and for mining objects, which as working models are excellently made, and many of them highly curious. We had provided ourselves with introductions to M. Freisleben, the chief director of the mines, and to Professor Reich, to both of whom we were indebted for the most courteous and valuable attentions; and the only subject of regret connected with our excursion to Freyberg was, that we could not profit for a longer time of their able guidance, in surveying the various interesting objects with which the town and the neighbourhood abound.

The deepest of the Saxon mines is about fifteen hundred feet. They are very numerous, and their most important produce is silver; but lead and copper are also extracted with profitable result. Tin was formerly an object of some value; but of late years the concurrence of England has driven the Saxon metal out of the market. By the advice of our friends, we descended the "Alte Mortgrube;" not as one of the richest,—for it is a poor mine rather than otherwise,—but as one wherein the veins are most strongly defined. It has six galleries, one below the other; to the fourth of which we descended, being a depth of rather more than nine hundred feet, when, proceeding about a thousand feet horizontally, we arrived at a part where the miners were at work. The descent is entirely by ladders, not placed perpendicularly, but following the direction of the main shaft, which, from the necessity of its following the

course of the veins, is greatly inclined ; and thus the descent and ascent are far less laborious than would have been the case had the shaft been perpendicular ; but, on the other hand, the expense of the works is greatly increased, as well from the more complicated machinery required for raising the metal, as from the necessity of supporting the shelving sides by timbers, which are renewed every five or six years. The diameter of the main and other shafts is very great, and the horizontal galleries are usually from six to seven feet in height, and as much in breadth at the flooring, but with sides inclining inwards towards the top ; and so well are they ventilated by perforations from above and fires below, that in the lowest parts which we visited the air felt cool and agreeable. The veins in this mine—and this, with some variations, is their general character—are of galena (sulphuret of lead), with some sulphuret of copper and a little silver. They are bright and clear to the eye, varying in thickness from one to three or four feet, and run quite independently of the stratification of the gneiss. Professor Reich informed us that the edges usually exhibit marks of great pressure and distortion, but I should not have stated this from the small extent which came under my own observation.

There is in this Mortgrube mine one peculiar object, both of interest and of awe. As the stranger descends through the perforated gneiss, strange noises grate upon his ear, which increase in loudness and discord as he advances, until, having penetrated the solid rock to the perpendicular depth of two hundred and thirty feet, he arrives at a large excavated chamber filled with a mass of moving machinery, the complicated movements of which he has not for a time sufficient self-possession to examine. He hears, with a thrilling horror, the harsh hollow sound of chains and wheels and rushing water, reverberated in the darkness



amid all the avenues and apertures of the rock; and he learns with surprise that in this deep chamber has been erected a very curious and effective hydraulic engine, to raise the ore to the surface from the greatest depths. The moving power is a wheel turned by water, which is poured down from near the summit of the mine, and which, after having answered its purpose, is conveyed out by a side adit into one of the fissures in the rock, which forms a deep vale below; and thus, by a bold and ingenious process, that torrent, which in its natural course would fill and drown the mine, is made the instrument of bringing its rich products to the surface.

The system on which the Saxon mines are held and worked is very curious. The mines themselves principally belong to companies of shareholders, who have their respective agent for each mine; these agents being presumed to look after the interests of their principals, but having no power whatever of interference in the management. A royal council of mines is established at Freyberg, by whom alone the working of every mine is directed, and the produce of it received; which produce is sold exclusively to the government at a fixed tariff price. In regard to the expenses, a general fund is formed by a contribution from each mine, proportionate to the quantity of its produce; and from this general fund the government administration pays the expenses of the whole mining operations. Thus, in fact, the richer mines pay for the poorer; and no individual proprietor or agent can benefit by his own separate exertions or talent. The amount of contribution for expenses having been thus deducted, the value of the net produce, at the price of the government tariff, is passed to the credit of the shareholders, who are mostly persons widely dispersed, and resident in all parts of Europe. To account for a system so singular, a theory has been advanced, that all the mines were ori-

ginally royal property, and that the actual proprietors hold them by some royal cession, the date and circumstances of which are now unknown: but whether this be or be not the case, it is certain that the numerous mines which have been opened by individuals in recent times have been equally subjected to the general system as those of the most ancient date. Whether, if a wealthy individual were to open and direct a mine wholly at his own expense, he would be permitted to work it in his own way, and to sell the produce at his own discretion, is a question which, as no case of the kind has ever yet occurred, cannot be decidedly answered. My two friends, the director and the professor, entertained opposite opinions on the subject, which at any rate shows that the right of the crown does not rest on any undoubted maxim of Saxon law—that the metals are in themselves in the nature of royal monopoly.

The system is not favourable for the proprietors, but is good for the government, and probably advantageous to the general cause of science. Employment is afforded to a large population, which might, in part at least, be otherwise deprived of work; since many of the poorer mines would be abandoned by the proprietors, were it not that the expenses are borne by the general fund. Every scientific experiment can be made by the government officers free of expense, as the outlay is borne from this fund of the proprietors; and thus it is, that Freyberg has been rendered in so eminent a degree the school of mines for Europe. The quantity of the produce can be regulated so as to suit the financial convenience of the government; and it may be just to add, that the safety, comfort, and well-being of the workmen and their families, may be better secured under a public administration, with whom expense is no object, than might be the case under the supervision of agents, responsible only to large bodies of distant and dispersed individuals. The

number of miners now employed in the district of Freyberg is about five thousand three hundred, and in the whole of the Erzgebirge nearly twelve thousand; and, among these, the proportionate number of accidents and casualties is said to be smaller than in any considerable mining district in Europe. The labourers work in the mines eight hours out of the twenty-four, and receive a pay which gives them per week 1 thaler 12 groschen, or 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling. They have thus sixteen hours, in a part of which they may work elsewhere; and, having vegetable-gardens, and a little live-stock, they are said to live pretty well, on bread, beer, cheese, and meat twice a-week, but not oftener. Their general appearance is healthy, as is that of their children, who are very numerous, and well enough clothed. As the mines become deeper, the expenses increase; to meet which it is endeavoured, on the one hand, to augment the quantity of the metal produced, while, on the other, the dividends to the shareholders suffer diminution. The annual produce, for the few years preceding our visit in 1835, had been about 70,000 marks of fine silver,\* which, being sold to the government at 13 thalers 8 groschen per mark, yielded 933,000 thalers, or £140,000 sterling; but so large a sum was absorbed by the expenses of working and the charges of administration, that the entire amount divided among the shareholders was only 105,000 thalers, or £15,200 sterling, being about 11 per cent. of the value of the metal as sold to the crown. Of the annual value of the copper and lead I have no account, but it is very far from considerable; and, on the whole, the value of the mining department of Saxony must be estimated in its important connexion with general science, much more than as a source of private or of national benefit. There is supported by it,

\* I am not certain whether this is the amount of silver produced in the whole Erzgebirge, or in the district of Freyberg only.

at Freyberg, and of which the expenses are borne out of that general fund to which all the mines contribute, an academy of very superior order, wherein the science of mining and mineralogy is taught in every branch, and illustrated as well by the models and specimens above ground, as by practical exemplifications below. When we were at Freyberg it contained twenty-four pupils, whereof one was from England. There is likewise, unconnected with the academy, a mining school, for affording practical mining education to the lower classes, wherein the subordinate officers of the mines receive their principal instruction.

I have now to explain the process of *amalgamation*, which is conducted at Freyberg on a far more extensive scale, as well as more scientific manner, than in any other part of Europe. Its general advantage over simple fusion, for the separation of the precious metals, consists in the saving of time and the saving of fuel; but for the reduction of those ores wherein *lead* is so abundantly combined with silver or gold as to be in itself an object of importance, this process cannot be advantageously employed; and hence, in the establishment at Freyberg, amalgamation and fusion are both adopted, as the nature of the ores may render the one or the other the more expedient.

*Amalgamation.*—The ores brought from the different mines are first examined, and credit given to each, in the books of the administration, for the quantity of silver which by test they are ascertained to contain. The ores containing a profitable quantity of lead or of copper are separated for the process of fusion; those mainly free of these metals are pounded into powder, which, as derived from ores of different richness, is so intermixed, as that the mass shall contain three ounces of silver in each hundredweight of powder. It is found by experience that, if the quantity of silver be

much larger than three ounces, too much remains in the residuum of the process ; if less than three ounces, the produce does not repay the expenses. It is requisite that a certain quantity of sulphur should also be present, which, as the ores are generally sulphuret of silver, is in most cases sufficiently abundant in the ores themselves ; but if not, a proper proportion is added to the pulverized mass. The powder is now dropped gradually down from a height on to a floor beneath, and common salt is strewed upon it, and to this more of the powder is poured down, and other layers of salt are added in succession ; the quantity of salt being finally a tenth part of the weight of the powder. The mass is divided into heaps of four and a half hundredweight : it is finely mixed, sifted, and cleared from any small lumps ; after which it is conveyed into ovens, heated at the sides by coal, which is separated from the mineral by a fine grating. Laying out of consideration smaller quantities, the mass thus far consists of sulphuret of silver, and of common salt or chloride of soda. A quick fire, penetrating the interstices of the side grating, makes the sulphur inflame and the salt decrepitate ; the whole mass liquefies ; the chlorine of the salt uniting with the silver forms chloride of silver, and the sulphur uniting with the soda forms sulphate of soda. This part of the operation is very delicate. The front of the oven is kept open, and men with long iron rakes, passed for convenience over iron rollers at the mouth of each oven, keep the mineral constantly in action. The process lasts nearly six hours ; when the red-hot liquid is poured off on to a stone pavement.\* As it cools, it becomes again a solid mass, composed now of

\* Every four or five months the ovens are cleaned out, and a kind of dust is found adhering to the top, which contains two to three ounces of silver in the hundredweight. This is subjected anew to the regular process.

chloride of silver and sulphate of soda, which is ground between granite mill-stones into the finest impalpable flour—a proceeding considered necessary in order that every particle may be brought into contact with the mercury to which it is to be subjected. The mineral flour is conveyed into casks placed horizontally on iron spindles, in the quantity of ten hundredweight to each cask, to which are added three hundredweight of water and about one hundredweight of small pieces of iron. The casks are made to revolve by means of a water-wheel, until the mass becomes a rather thick paste: were the water less in quantity, the paste would be too thick to allow the mercury to penetrate; were it more, the mercury would drop through it. When the paste is well formed, five hundredweight of mercury is poured into each revolving cask, and the revolutions are continued. The effect now is, that the chlorine becomes united with the iron; and the mercury, penetrating the mass, takes up the whole of the liberated silver. This part of the process lasts about eighteen hours. A large quantity of water is now poured in, which renders the paste very liquid; and the mercury, holding the silver in combination, falls by its superior weight as a sediment to the bottom. The casks still revolve, but very slowly, so that this sediment of mercury and silver continues to occupy the lowest part of the cask; when small valves are opened, through which, as they successively come round to the lowest part, the sediment by degrees escapes into a tunnel, from which it is carried off by a conduit-pipe to the amalgam-room. As soon as any portion of the more aqueous contents is perceived to drop through the valves, they are closed, and the rotations cease; it being evident that the whole of the mercury has already passed.\* In the amalgam-room, the mercury with the silver is received

\* Some very small part of the mercury may remain, which is subsequently separated.

rights which they have derived from so long a train of glorious ancestors? However unsuited be their antique constitution to the present condition of Europe, however calculated even to retard the civilisation and physical prosperity of the kingdom, still who shall blame their resistance to past invasions, which have aimed at destroying that distinct nationality which has been theirs for a thousand years,—at fusing Hungary, like Bohemia, into the mass of Austrian provinces,—and at laying its ancient nobility prostrate at the foot of the crown? Still these high-minded men know the perils of their position. They are aware of the hostile feeling with which they are viewed by the towns, and of the ill-concealed hatred borne to them by a semi-barbarous peasantry. Whatsoever be the attitude they assume towards the crown, they are certain that *its* interests and policy will secure them from the wild havoc of popular insurrection; but were the connexion with Austria dissolved,—were Hungary in her present state left to the unaided care of her nobles,—short would be the period ere both their castles and their persons would be swept away by the horrors of a ferocious servile revolution.

Different is the state of the *Italian* provinces. In them no feudal distinctions exist; no jealousies are excited by superiority of privilege. The population is united—which is neither the case in Hungary nor the German provinces—by a community of lan-

guage, habits, and feelings ; and, perhaps it may be added, in an instinctive dislike, not specifically to Austrian, but to German domination. As regards the mass of that population however, this dislike will produce no action, so long as they feel their condition prosperous, and the administration of the government not oppressive. In Italy, as in the German provinces, it appears to be the principal object of the government to conciliate the middling and lower classes, while it seeks to depress, where it cannot gain over, the larger proprietors ; who, although endowed with no legal pre-eminence, still wield the usual influence of property, and are naturally hostile to Transalpine rule. It has been the policy of Austria to introduce, as far as in her lay, a uniformity, not of institutions only, but of language also, in the several portions of her dominions ; but her success in doing so has been far from perfect. The feelings of a people are generally more interwoven with the familiar sounds and the small every-day habits which they have derived from their parents, than with those great political maxims on which their government may be based. It was the decree of Joseph II., ordaining that the German language alone should be taught and used in Hungary, that roused the spirit of national resistance ; and this has gone on increasing in force, until at length, subverting alike both the German and the Latin, it has compelled the crown to ratify a law, whereby the still meagre and unformed Asiatic dialect, termed



the Magyar or proper Hungarian, is made the language of the schools, the diet, and the courts. In Italy also, the government is now engaged in a somewhat similar attempt. It is striving to introduce the German language into the primary schools, evidently aiming at its establishment as the official, and even, if possible, the vernacular tongue: but slow and cautious must be its proceedings in this respect, or they will be subversive of its own designs, and cause a re-action fearful as that of Hungary.

In matters of public administration in Italy, the crown seeks to frame its course on the Austrian principle; ever to interfere and to regulate, while it wishes to be substantially indulgent: but the Italian mind is not moulded, like the Austrian mind, into filial submission; and hence the paternal principle is exhibited here with less of its indulgence, and more of its authority. In point of fiscal and of military pressure, however, it is felt to be very far more lenient than was the domination of the French; and all that may tend to the advancement of agriculture, commerce, or general well-being, is sedulously promoted. Let a man traverse those lovely regions, and he will find them cultivated and blooming like a garden. He will see a soil absolutely oppressed with the abundance of its produce,—excellent roads,—handsome towns,—an apparently well-fed, well-clothed people, and every indication of public and individual prosperity. The expenditure of the go-

vernment in public works is larger in the Italian states than in any of the other provinces. The system of representation is somewhat more real than in any other part of the empire, save as regards the nobles of Hungary ; and, upon the whole, I believe the inhabitants of the smaller towns and the villages, and the rural cultivators generally, to be well enough satisfied with the existing rule. It may be different in the larger cities, and especially in Milan, although in them also the discontents are said to be diminishing ; and the recent amnesty for political offenders will add much to the popularity of the sovereign : but, until recently at least, it cannot be denied that the police in these cities has been extremely rigid, and in many points vexatiously oppressive. It has become so, from the alleged necessity of watching and repressing that system of base and profligate intrigue, which is even now at work from the side of France ; and of putting down those numerous and powerful malcontents who would at an earlier period have favoured an alliance with that country, and who are still perhaps not altogether devoid of hope, that a general union may be effected of all Italy into one independent state. The police is armed with equal power in the German as in the Italian provinces ; but in the former its movements are indulgent and unsuspecting, for it acts on an attached and contented population. In Italy, in the great towns at any rate, the consciousness or suspicion of hostility has rendered it severe, and this severity may probably have

tended much to perpetuate those animosities of feeling, which it was designed to control and suppress. There is little doubt however, that its vigilance and energy in the cities, united with the general content which prevails out of them, and the powerful military means always arrayed along the frontier towards France, will suffice to secure the internal peace, so long, at least, as there is no important pressure from without, and while the government does not indulge its besetting sin of Germanization.

The malcontents, or at least those who have been malcontents, are of two classes. The *one* of these consists of mere democratic revolutionists, seeking their own immediate advantage in the general confusion,—persons mainly devoid of public or private morality, and bankrupts alike in property and reputation. Of the *other* class, I would speak in very different terms, and with feelings of sincere respect. Many of them I have known, and greatly esteemed ; some as exiles in foreign lands,—men of large property, high acquirements, amiable and honourable in their views and conduct, and only too enthusiastic for the age and circumstances in which they lived. There are few right-minded persons who will refuse their sympathy with the feelings of these patriotic but misguided men : few who grieve not to reflect that the idea of an Italian kingdom, which should comprise the several states of that

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— Garden of the world, the home  
Of all art yields and nature can decree,

is a creation of the fancy only. This is a subject on which the practical statesman and the real friend of Italy must submit his private wish to the lessons of observation and experience. Italy has no common centre of population, interests, or feelings—no element of political combination—and, what is perhaps still more important, no adequate fund of public or private morality to sustain her independence, even if she could for a moment acquire it. Incongruous and ill-asserted as may appear the union between Lombardy and Austria, that between Lombardy and Naples would be scarcely less so. During the lapse of a thousand years, Italy has been the arena of sanguinary conflict or of perfidious intrigue, between two mighty foreign powers, to one or other of which the paramount influence over her smaller states, and the actual possession of a portion of her northern provinces, have usually belonged. In the existing state of the world, subjection to Transalpine influence or rule must be still her fate: and, if so, there can be little doubt that the practical politician as well as the genuine philanthropist—all, indeed, who look to the repose of Europe, or to the real interests and prosperity of the Italian people, will concur in the endeavour to insure the paramount preferential control over Italy, to Austria rather than to France.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FOREIGN POLICY.—Austria considered with reference to her *Foreign Relations*; she aims essentially at Peace—Austrian Policy towards *Italy*—Conflicts with France for Ascendancy in the smaller States—Military Occupation of Countries threatened with Popular Revolution—Austrian Policy towards *Germany*—Formation and present State of the Germanic Confederation—Difficulties experienced by the Congress of Vienna—Its Views for a different Organization of Germany—The Preservation of the Kingdom of Saxony by its sudden Dissolution—Rivalship of Prussia and Austria—Prussian Custom-House Confederation—Austrian Policy towards *Russia and Turkey*—History of the establishment of Russian Ascendancy in the Northern Provinces of Turkey, and at the Mouth of the Danube—Political Condition of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Servia—Anxiety of Austria—Her endeavours to oppose Russia by her Diplomacy at Constantinople and Athens—The Conduct of England, and Apprehension and Fear of Austria as to the Maritime Powers—Reflections on the Dangers with which England is threatened by a further advance of Russia towards the Mediterranean—And on the Policy by which those Dangers may be averted.

THE foreign policy of Austria aims essentially at peace. The consolidation of her financial system, the development of her national resources, the improvement of her institutions, the expediency of reductions in her military expenditure,—all require the continuance of that European repose which it has

been her great object to preserve. Hence, notwithstanding her dread of the democratic principle, she has acquiesced in the various political changes which have occurred within the last few years in France, Spain, and Portugal ; neither, were changes, similar in character, to be extended to other European countries, would she interfere to impede them by armed intervention, so long as the tranquillity of her own possessions were not immediately menaced ; for the same practical spirit and singleness of view to her own national interests, which characterises her internal administration, extends likewise to her foreign relations. To trace the course of this uniform spirit in its actual operation, would be at all times a matter of curious research ; but at the present moment, when the enlightened statesman cannot fail to perceive what mighty political results may in all probability depend on the line of conduct which Austria may adopt, it is a matter of no ordinary importance that her real position and feelings in regard to foreign nations should be fully understood and justly viewed. In the present humble attempt to elucidate a subject so extensive, and which, on some points, has been considerably misconceived, I shall endeavour to divide it into three branches ; although these are in practice necessarily intermixed, and all combine, the one with the other, in forming the general scheme of her foreign diplomacy. I shall consider Austrian policy as it regards, first, *Italy and France* ; on which a few brief notices will

suffice, for here its course is plain and simple : secondly, *Prussia and the German states* ; which will require a somewhat more extended discussion : thirdly, *Russia, Turkey, and the East* ; a portion of the subject far exceeding the other two in the importance of its general bearings ; and for the due appreciation of which it will be necessary to take a view of the past and present political conduct not of Austria only, but also of Russia, including her actual position on the side of Turkey, and of the countries on the Black Sea. I shall offer in conclusion, a few observations on the connection of British interests with the future decisions and movements of these two great empires, as well as on the course of policy which she has hitherto pursued, and that which may seem most probably conducive to her future welfare.

The point to which Austria is most tremblingly alive, is the conservation of the Italian kingdom ; for she knows that France is there her constant and restless rival. She has had abundant experience of that spirit of propagandism, and that love of turmoil, which are rife among the French people ; and she has been made to feel how defective has been the government, either in point of inclination or of ability, to suppress these molesting propensities of its subjects. On the one side and the other, monarchical order or popular liberty are the pretexts, but power over rival domination is the object. Hence arises

the necessity of a large development of military means in the vicinity of the frontier towards France, which is nowhere else required; and hence the adoption of a system of jealous and anxious policy in regard to the affairs of all the Italian sovereignties, which is not observed towards those of Germany or the North. France, unable to make a direct impression upon Lombardy, has endeavoured to effect her object through the smaller states; and where courts could not be gained, she has sought to influence the people. Austria has perceived the importance of meeting this policy in every shape. She would probably feel comparative indifference as to any changes of institutions, however republican, that should take place at Naples or at Turin, could the effects of those changes be confined within the limits of their respective dominions; or even could they, when made, be maintained by a really independent body of citizens: but she knows that in every such alteration, France would be the gainer, and that whatsoever of augmented influence or power France obtained, would be directed by means, open or concealed, against the stability of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Hence, whenever called upon by their respective governments to suppress revolution, she has promptly taken military possession of Piedmont and of Naples; evacuating those countries, however, as soon as the necessity of her interference had passed away. On the same principle, in 1832, when the Pontifical States became the scene of insur-



rection, she held an army on the frontier ready to obey the Papal summons. His Holiness announced to the different powers of Europe the existence of the troubles; the remedial measures on which he had decided, with a view of removing the asserted grounds of discontent; and the special mission of Cardinal Albani into Romagna, to carry those measures into effect. Among the official replies to these communications, that of the French ambassador at Rome expressed the high approval of his government, of the measures taken and intended by the Pope; and the strongest assurances of its anxious desire for the tranquillity and the independence of the Papal States. The insurrection however continuing to extend, and having even mastered the Roman troops, the principal inhabitants of Bologna and its territory applied to the Austrian commander (who had remained with his forces within the Lombardo-Venetian frontier) for some protection against the fury of triumphant Carbonarism. The Austrian commander replied, that he could only pass the frontier at the request of Cardinal Albani. The request was made; the Austrians advanced; occupied the four Legations; and suppressed the insurrection. After the great object of restored tranquillity had been thus attained, the French expedition, which had been despatched without any intimation of its destination being made to the Papal or to any other Court, appeared before Ancona, and forcibly seized possession of the city and its defences. The Court of Rome in vain re-

monstrated against this violation of public law, and of diplomatic assurances ; and complained of its effect in exciting the discontented to a renewal of those troubles, which the Court of the Tuilleries had expressed its anxious wish to see suppressed. The occupation however continued. Austria did not choose to risk a general war on account of it, but she saw in it a further ground to distrust the intentions and the good faith of France. It aggravated the severity of her Italian policy, and her watchful interference in the concerns of all the Italian states. In each of them she felt herself engaged in a contest with France ; and to counteract the action of French excitation on the lower classes, her position impelled her to throw the whole weight of her power on the side of the Courts. It is highly probable that the powerful and statesmanlike genius of the French monarch may at all times have rendered him personally averse to retain a possession which, having been seized in treachery, could only be held at a sacrifice of national honour, and consequently of national interest. He may have effected the evacuation at the earliest moment when a temporary calm in the public mind enabled him to do so ; but even if this be the case, the very reflection that such an occupation should have continued for so long a time in obedience to mere popular clamour, is little likely to appease the apprehensions of Austria. Whatever be her confidence in the intentions of the sovereign, she cannot but perceive the weakness of his govern-

ment, and the feeble control he possesses over the inherent impetuosity of his subjects. Preserving, therefore, the external semblance of amity with the Court of the Tuilleries, she keeps herself ever prepared on the occurrence of any emergency, to take military occupation of a part, or possibly the whole, of the Italian peninsula; and hence, as against *France*, and in regard especially to Italy, the real attitude of Austria may be said to be of a jealous, and somewhat of a warlike, character.

We turn now to trace her political course in regard to *Prussia and the German States*. Dreading above all things a resumption of that preponderance over Europe, which France had enjoyed during the reign of Napoleon, Austria has, from the moment of the general peace in 1814, never been blind to the possibility of similar danger from another quarter. At the congress of Vienna, the actual and probably progressive aggrandisement of Russia were not unheeded, and Austria advocated the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland; for which purpose she would have restored Galicia, taking elsewhere a territorial reimbursement: but this project was rendered abortive, by the refusal of Russia and Prussia to surrender their portion of the plundered provinces. It became next the object of Austria, as indeed of the other principal powers also, with the exception of France, to consolidate central Europe, as far as possible, into large masses; and, in so doing, to extinguish the smaller principalities, whose existence,

it was asserted, would afford to intrigue the ever ready means of producing dissensions and animosities. With regard to that host of feudal chieftains, whose dominions under the Germanic empire had hardly exceeded the limits of their own immediate estates, the principle had been already acted on, in the former political arrangements made under the influence of Napoleon. With some exceptions, they had been deprived of their sovereign rights; and, under the name of mediatized princes and counts, had become the subjects of those greater sovereigns, in the body of whose dominions their petty territories were enclosed. To apply similar measures, however, to princes of a higher class, was a matter of much difficulty. To say nothing of the vehement remonstrances urged both by princes and subjects, against the arbitrary transfer of smaller territories merely to suit the policy of the greater monarchs, it was soon discovered by those monarchs themselves, to their mutual embarrassment, that they had all of them entered the congress more or less fettered by private engagements. On the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, it had become the object, first of Russia, and next of the other leading powers, to secure the aid of the several German princes, who until that period had been under the influence of France; but in order to obtain their co-operation, it had been found necessary to enter into certain previous engagements touching the separate interests of each, in the event of the general success. Thus the states of second and

third order made their stipulations with Russia or with Austria, in favour not only of their own immediate objects, but of those also of still smaller princes, with whom they were connected by blood or alliance. England at the same time insisted on the elevation of Hanover, with a suitable territory, to an equality of royal dignity with Wirtemberg and Bavaria, and likewise on the unimpaired territorial power of the Brunswick princes. Russia would allow no portion of Polish land beyond that which had fallen to Austria and Prussia under the former partitions, to be severed from that nominal kingdom of Poland which was to remain in real subjection to herself. Prussia urged as a matter of right, that some large accession of territory should be allotted to her, in order in a slight degree to compensate the acquisitions of power made by her great confederates. The policy of Austria was of a less embarrassing character, although equally directed by views of power and of influence. Having secured her Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and extended her line of coast on the eastern side of the Adriatic to the frontier of Albania, she claimed in central Europe only those dominions which she had possessed in the year 1792, and even abandoned her claim to the restoration of Belgium, which up to that year had formed a part of her territories. This abandonment effected that consolidation which created the kingdom of the Netherlands : but consolidations in the other parts of Europe were no easy matter, amid the clashing pretensions, obstacles, and embar-

rassments to which I have above alluded. The negotiations went on in many respects uncordially; and were productive, in some quarters, of anger and disappointment. An arrangement however for the states of Germany, widely different from that which at present exists, was in progress, and would probably have been adopted; when the sudden return of Napoleon from Elba put an end at once to the congress and its plans. On the intelligence of that great event being received at Vienna, the immediate renewal of hostilities was anticipated. The anxiety of Russia, Austria and England was directed to the suppression of all discontents which had arisen among the minor sovereigns; and to the removal of every motive which might impel any of them to waver towards French alliance. Concessions on all sides were hastily made; and several sovereign principalities are now seen on the map of Europe, which, but for that event, would have been expunged from it for ever. A remarkable exemplification of the diplomatic dispatch excited by the return of Napoleon, occurred in regard to the kingdom of Saxony. At the time when the principal part of the German sovereigns made their conventions with Russia and Austria, and joined the great alliance of 1813, the Saxon monarch renewed *his* compact with Napoleon, and, as a reward for the continued adherence to the cause of France, would, in the event of her success, have received the sovereignty of Poland. On the one side and the other, independence or political de-

struction were involved in the gain or loss of the mighty stakes in contest. The parties stood upon the hazard of the die, and the Saxon was the losing side. The victorious allies proposed at first to extinguish the kingdom altogether, and to annex the whole of it to Prussia; but difficulties occurred in the details, and great resistance was made both by the king and by his subjects. The congress refused to the king permission to repair to Vienna: but, in order to facilitate the projected arrangements, they assigned to him a temporary residence at Presburg, and appointed three of their body, the Duke of Wellington, the Prince de Metternich, and the Prince de Talleyrand, to hold conferences with him in its behalf: in other words, to declare to him its ultimate pleasure, and to arrange with him the mode of carrying that pleasure into effect. Early in March (1815) the three great diplomatists were at Presburg for this purpose, and an exalted personage, unconnected with the objects of their mission, had accompanied them as a mutual friend. M. de Metternich had his apartments in a separate residence; the other three occupied a portion of a public edifice, M. de Talleyrand having rooms on the one side, the Duke of Wellington on the other, and the personage alluded to being accommodated with a saloon between the two. Early on a certain morning, while it was yet dark, the latter was awakened by the approach of a figure to his bed-side, habited in his night-dress,

and bearing a light in the one hand, a letter in the other. This unexpected visitor was the Duke of Wellington. "Prince," said he, addressing him in French, "you understand English, read this." It was a hurried communication from Vienna, announcing that a courier had just arrived with intelligence of the landing of Napoleon at Cannes. "Now," continued his Grace, "you must do me the favour to get up, and carry this letter to M. de Talleyrand;" and having so said, he returned to his own apartment with all appearance of the most unruffled composure. The prince did as he was requested; and M. de Talleyrand dispatched the important letter to M. de Metternich. It was now between five and six o'clock. About eight the three diplomatists came together. M. de Metternich and M. de Talleyrand had both in the interim received couriers from Vienna, conveying similar communications with that which had first reached the duke; but the Saxon monarch remained ignorant of the important news, and tremblingly anxious for his future fate. His Majesty was suddenly called to conference, and surprised at the conciliatory tone now adopted towards him. A short protocol was prepared and signed, settling the kingdom of Saxony as it now exists; and before eleven o'clock in the same forenoon, the three deputies from the congress had left Presburg on their return to Vienna.

The repose of Europe was once more assured by the victory of Waterloo, but events and indications



had occurred during the hundred days of Napoleon's rule, which caused to Austria considerable disquietude. In the former reign of Napoleon, a splendid but absolute despotism had been the character of his domination; but on the return from Elba, he sought to establish his government on maxims of popular power; and hence a sudden and vehement impulse was given to the democratic principle throughout a considerable part of Europe. The inhabitants of the Rhenish principalities had shown themselves eager to resume their connexion with France, should an opportunity occur for their so doing. The subjects of several of the smaller German states had evinced the utmost eagerness for political rights. The Russian emperor had been obliged to suspend the march of his army towards the Rhine, by the manifestation of an intended revolution in Poland; and it was apprehended with some reason, that if the scale of victory at Waterloo had inclined for France, a large portion of Western Germany would have risen in arms to support her cause. Hence, for mutual defence, and for the joint support of the monarchical principle, the alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was drawn far more close than would probably have been otherwise the case; but still the cordiality of that alliance was little extended beyond the general objects for which it was created. Austria and Prussia soon became rivals for the political preponderance in Germany itself; and as this rivalry may possibly lead to

results of interest, a few words in explanation of it may not be superfluous.

The Germanic body, as now constituted, consists of thirty-eight sovereign states, large and small, all of whom are represented by deputies at the General Diet. Among the articles of union which were agreed on in 1815, it is specified, that in all the states of the confederation, *a constitutional assembly of the States General* shall be established; and that diversity of Christian faith shall occasion no difference in any of them as to the enjoyment of civil or political rights. It is added, that the diet shall take into its own consideration the means of improving and settling the condition of the Jews; the formation of some uniform rules relative to the freedom of the press; the regulation of commerce and intercourse between the different states of the confederation; and that of maritime commerce on the principles adopted by the congress of Vienna. The vague terms in which these articles are expressed, have admitted abundant latitude in their execution. "Constitutional Assemblies of the States General," for instance, are said, in verbal compliance with the enactment, to have been established in almost every Germanic state, but, as is evident, with the widest differences of composition and of faculty. Those of Austria and of Prussia, under the name of the "Provincial Stände," are wholly directed by the crown: in Bavaria and some other states, they enjoy larger privileges, but are still mainly under its guidance:

while in a few of the principalities, the principle of popular influence has mainly prevailed. The whole of them, however, are subjected, by the act of confederation, to the decrees of the diet in all matters which are deemed by the diet to be of general concernment—such as the regulation of the press, of the universities, of international communications, &c. &c.; and hence have arisen frequent collisions between this great council of the union, and the legislative bodies of its component sovereignties. In the diet itself, conflicting opinions have been urged on different points; and many matters have been left in abeyance, or settled by temporary compromise, with a view to the avoidance of actual dissension. In this state of things, Austria and Prussia, although too sagacious to admit of any discord as to the leading measures whereby the popular ascendancy was to be resisted, have been competitors for the ruling influence over the smaller states of which the diet is composed. Austria, enjoying by the original compact the perpetual presidency, possesses both on that account, and by reason of her extensive dominions, a decided preponderance of power, which Prussia could not by direct means hope to weaken. Hence the latter betook herself to the formation of that great counter-confederation, the Commercial Union; which, with the exception of Austria, Hanover, Brunswick, and the Hanseatic Towns, now comprises every state of Germany. Of it, Prussia is the chief, and the director; and although avowedly established

for merely commercial purposes, it has become, under the able guidance of Prussia, a great political engine. Austria, awakened at length from an ill-timed indifference, endeavours now to form a counter-commercial confederacy which shall be under her own guidance, and by means of which, she may wield the influence of the south against that of the north. This confederacy would comprise the states on and near the Danube, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and others, which it is supposed that a greater community of special interests, and a system of mutual concessions, might induce to form a combination with Austria, and thus to abandon, or at least to modify, their connexion with Prussia—while Prussia, on her side, seeks fresh accessions of strength in the conciliation and addition of states not yet included in her union, and may probably extend her views to some not strictly belonging to Germany. A shade, but perhaps a shade only, of difference in political feeling accompanies this rivalry of the two monarchies. Prussia is somewhat more inclined to liberal principles than Austria; but, were that inclination even stronger than it is, she could not venture much to indulge it. She dreads the ebullitions of democracy in her Rhenish possessions; and she is aware, that in most of those smaller states which it is her aim to influence, the aristocratical influence is dominant where the monarchical is weak. Thus, the position of Austria towards Germany generally, is one of high, but not undivided influence; and, as towards

Prussia in particular, her relations are those of union as to leading principles of policy, but by no means of cordiality as to particular interests.

We have finally to notice the position of Austria with regard to Russia and Turkey, and in so doing, some considerations on the general policy of Russia, and on that of England as connected therewith, will naturally force themselves on our attention. However closely united have been the two imperial sovereigns in a common alliance for the support of the monarchical principle, Austria has viewed with ill-dissembled anxiety the tendencies of Russia to perpetual aggrandizement; but, neither she nor the western nations can fairly charge upon those tendencies that they have been ever veiled in secrecy and disavowal, or that their successful development has taken Europe by surprise. For more than a century, and especially since the accession of Catharine, the policy of the czars has been directed to territorial extension at the expense of Turkey, aiming openly at the ultimate possession or control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Owing to the busy conflicts with France, and the repose necessary after the termination of the great struggle, the march of that policy was in the time of Alexander suspended in appearance, but in appearance only; his diplomacy was ever in action, while his arms were at rest. The movement of Nicholas has been more decidedly onward; and in following up, as he is doing, the national policy, he deserves the credit at all events

due to a sovereign, who, neither duped by flatteries nor influenced by prejudices, nor never troubling himself with the concerns of other countries save as they are connected with the welfare of his own, but always alive to improve their errors to his own advantage, looks with a steady singleness of purpose worthy of better means than he has at times employed, to the interests and advantage of that nation whereof he is the ruler. The success of his policy may well cause the alarm of Europe ; but it appears unjust to make that success a matter of charge against his person and government, because Europe may not have been sufficiently united or sagacious to arrest its progress.

With a view to understanding the actual position of Austria, it may be requisite to notice the proceedings of Russia in some of their leading points. Persons who have watched the course of events in Greece, are aware of the policy with which Russia fanned the flame of resistance, until she had effected the separation of that limb of the Ottoman empire ; as also of the adroitness with which she subsequently kept alive her influence in the new kingdom, and has now probably succeeded in establishing that ascendancy over the councils of Otho, which was for a time eclipsed under the ministry of Count Armandsperg. Concomitant with the Grecian conflict was that two years' war, which first brought the Russian armies within eighty miles of Constantinople. The Turks applied to England and to France for aid ;

but they applied in vain. They had become exceedingly unpopular in Western Europe, on account of their refusal to recognise the independence of the Greeks; and the cause of the latter was unguardedly viewed as identified with that of their co-religionists of the North. The Russian forces advanced to Adrianople. That they proceeded no farther on their triumphant career, has been ascribed to the smallness of their number; to their feeble and disorganized state; and above all, to the tardy opposition of England, whose admiral was prepared to engage, and of course partially to destroy, the Russian fleet at the Dardanelles, if the army had made any farther advance. On the authority of information derived from various and peculiar sources and among others from that of officers of foreign powers, then in the Russian camp to witness the proceedings I am led to the conviction that neither of these was the determining motive; but a detail of the considerations which actually led to the pacification and retreat would be foreign to the immediate object before us. Suffice it to say, that the triumph of Russian policy was complete; but, from the period of the Adrianople treaty which was now concluded, that policy assumed a different practical character. It sought to weaken and disorganize the victim, and then, as a friend, to encumber it with help. By intrigues of which it would be difficult to fathom the depth, and wherein it is tolerably certain that Russia was by no means the only mover (probably, indeed, not the principal

one), the Pacha of Egypt was induced to assume an attitude of hostility towards the Porte, and to invade the Syrian provinces. The sultan made a last appeal for the friendly interposition of England and France, but, as before, the appeal was vain. A word from England to Mahomet Ali would have deterred him from proceeding. There may or may not have been adequate reasons, as connected with our then political relations on the side of France and otherwise, why the interference of England should have been refused : but, be those reasons what they might, the Porte could be no party to them ; and, thus deserted by the Western powers, she was compelled to throw herself into the arms of Russia. The Pacha of Egypt advanced by rapid marches, and threatened the sultan even in his capital ; a Russian force was, at the sultan's urgent desire, transferred across the Black Sea, and encamped as protectors within sight of the seraglio. That word which England refused to utter, was pronounced by Russia. Mahomet Ali was stopped, and Russia acquired the advantages which her policy deserved, and which England and France had thrown upon her. Four more provinces were severed from the Turkish domination. The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi created an intimate union of "offensive and defensive alliance" between the sultan and the czar, which conferred on the latter the power of interfering in all the concerns of the Ottoman government ; while the sultan was made to feel, that to the protecting friendship of Nicholas



he was indebted for his crown, and all that remained of his dominions.

Long antecedent to the period just referred to, the views of Russia had been fixed on Moldavia and Wallachia. She was already, in and before the year 1812, possessed in absolute dominion of the eastern provinces of Poland, and the northern coasts of the Euxine as far westward as the Dniester. The pressure of her aggressive policy was, in its natural course therefore, next directed against these important principalities, which, extending from the Dniester to the Danube, filled the whole intermediate space betwixt the Euxine and the Austrian territories. In both Moldavia and Wallachia the property of the soil had remained in the hands of Christians, members chiefly of the Greek church as established in Russia, from the earliest period of the Turkish settlement; and the government had been administered by Christian subjects of the Porte, who, with the title of Hospodars, were deputed from Constantinople for that purpose. The administration of the hospodars was usually corrupt and tyrannical, having for its object the amassing of as much wealth as possible during the limited period of delegated sovereignty; and, as the oppression of these Fanariot Christians from time to time excited resistance, it had become the duty of the Turkish garrisons to suppress disorders, which their own rude and violent method of military pacification not unfrequently tended to aggravate. Such a state of things had been very propitious for the introduc-

tion of Russian influence. As grievances, generally real, sometimes imaginary, were from time to time proclaimed, appeal was made to Russian compassion, which may perhaps have occasionally suggested subjects of complaint, that would not have occurred to the natives themselves. Under Russian mediation constitutions have now been conferred, by which the entire government in each of the principalities is placed in the hands of the Christian natives, under the direction of a hospodar no longer removable at pleasure, but appointed *for life*; and as those high officers owe their appointment to Russian recommendation, their government is regulated by the commanding influence of Russian consuls. Christians may alone possess land within the principalities; and they are, by special convention with the Porte, under the guaranteed protection of Russia. No Turkish forts may be erected, or Turkish pickets stationed, on Wallachian and Moldavian soil: but to the hospodars it is permitted to raise and support native troops at will, for avowed sanatory purposes; and also at their own discretion, or in other words at the recommendation of Russia, to place along their entire line quarantine defences, which the Turks are compelled to respect. The Turks receive from Wallachia a nominal tribute of about £3000 sterling annually, and a still smaller sum from Moldavia. They exercise no command, no power, military or civil; and that nominal allegiance which the principalities profess to Constantinople, will, at any moment Russia

chooses, be transferred to St. Petersburg, without the most minute alteration in the internal administration.

But while Russia has thus obtained the absolute political control of the principalities, she has likewise secured for herself, at their expense, a most important acquisition of actual territory. Up to the year 1812, the Dniester was the boundary of the Russian dominions on the Black Sea; and Bessarabia, which comprises the line of coast from that river southward to the Danube, was a constituent part of Moldavia. All the mouths of the Danube thus belonged to the sultan, as did both the banks of the river upwards, for the last several hundred miles of its course; Moldavia and Wallachia, forming the northern bank as far as the Austrian confines of Hungary, while Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia, extended upwards along the southern bank, till they also reached the Austrian provinces of Croatia and Dalmatia. By the treaty of 1812, Bessarabia, detached from Moldavia, was conceded to Russia in actual sovereignty, the Pruth being made the new boundary between the two empires. This was an important political acquisition; since by it Russia became possessed of the entire coast of the Euxine as far down as the northernmost branch of the Delta of the Danube; her territory extending upwards along that branch for about sixty miles, to the point where it is entered by the Pruth.

It may be here desirable briefly to explain the geographical peculiarities connected with the mouths of the Danube. The Delta is formed by three prin-

cipal branches, diverging from each other at a point about fifty miles inland from the present coast of the Euxine, but often connected together by subsidiary channels passing from one to the other, and thus constituting a very large extent of low marshy islands covered with high grass and weeds. The northernmost of these, the *Kilia* branch, which became the Russian boundary by the treaty of 1812, has at its mouth only six feet of water, besides being otherwise much impeded by sands, and consequently cannot be entered by vessels larger than mere lighters. The other two, the *Suline* branch and the *Georgevskoi* branch, were both navigable by small merchantmen, and they remained to Turkey.

Thus far, therefore, Russia had no control whatever over either of the navigable entrances. Her *Kilia* branch was even almost useless to herself; since vessels drawing more than five feet water could only reach her establishments upon it, by ascending one of the other two channels, and re-descending the *Kilia* from the point of its divergence. The treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, conferred on her policy another triumph. By it, all the islands of the Delta were added to her territory. The southernmost branch, the *Georgevskoi*, was rendered the boundary between the empires; and although the Turks remained in possession of *its* southern bank, this became useless to them from the circumstance, whether accidental or intentional, of its channel being, about the period of the treaty, rendered unnavigable by large

masses of artificial obstruction plunged into it, which in all probability it will never be found practicable to remove.

The *Suline* branch is therefore the only one which can now be navigated, and both sides of that branch are Russian territory. It is true that one of the articles of the Adrianople treaty contains a stipulation, that on no one of the islands, nor on the Turkish bank of the Georgevskoi within a distance of two hours (five English miles) from the river, shall any fort be erected save for the purpose of quarantine; but even of this stipulation, the advantage was calculated to result alone to Russia. That Turkey should form sanatory establishments was of course not to be expected; but Russia has on her part availed herself of the privilege, by establishing on the *south* side of the Suline a quarantine post, which she has since converted into a small fort by throwing about it military defences. Close in front of it was moored, when I passed it, a small armed vessel of war; while along the north bank of the Suline, up to the confluence of the Pruth, is stationed a line, not indeed of forts, but of military guard-houses with Russian pickets at short distances from each other, which are competent wholly to control the navigation. The entrance of the Danube, therefore, is now absolutely in the territory of Russia, whose influence further extends along the northern bank to the confines of Hungary. At one period an inclination was evinced, to claim the right of levying tolls on foreign

vessels entering and departing ; but, on resistance being made to this unauthorized assumption, the government disclaimed the intention to enforce it, and ascribed to error on the part of its subordinates the attempt which had been made. Russia now exercises no further authority, than that of requiring all vessels entering from the Black Sea to bring-to before her quarantine post, and to submit to her registration the statements of their nationality, cargoes, and equipage. Austria, supported by the Western states, has insisted on the principle laid down at the peace of 1814, that the free access of all rivers to the sea should not be obstructed by any powers settled on their banks ; and this principle will be enforced so long as the relations of amity may continue. But it is obvious, that in the opposite contingency, Russia has created for herself the means of commanding the entrance, whensoever she may assume a hostile attitude.

We have seen the successful aggressions of Russia on the northern side of the Danube, and the islands of its Delta ; let us now observe her progress also on the southern bank. The Turkish provinces there extending upwards from the Black Sea, opposite to Wallachia and the greater part of Hungary, are Bulgaria and Servia ; the population of both of which, especially the latter, is principally Christian. Servia, although the more inland of the two, is by far the more important in point of population, civilization, and general resources ; and in it a Russian

policy similar to that so effectually developed in Moldavia and Wallachia has for many years been in operation. As grievances, partly arising from barbarous misrule, partly from the suggestions of foreign instigation, have excited internal troubles and disorders, the mediating friendship of Russia has urged on the Porte the expediency of granting more free institutions to the oppressed Christian population. Under her influence, the Prince Milosch, a man utterly devoid of education, but of great natural powers—a man taken under Russian protection when he had betrayed the confidence of his own sovereign—has been appointed to be the civil governor of the province. The prince naturally receives his impulses from that power to which he owes his station, and which can alone support him in it. The people as naturally follow the same direction; but in the mean time, as Milosch is merely the civil governor, and the military command of Servia yet rests in the Turkish Pacha of Belgrade, the country has not been permitted to lapse into quietude. Plans of constitutions are proposed on one side, and opposed on another. They are partially approved at Constantinople; then difficulties are raised at St. Petersburg, and no reference is made to Servia. Objections by Milosch ensue; and these are followed by further references to one or other or both of the capitals. Thus irritation is kept alive; *soi-disant* liberal and anti-liberal parties are formed among the ignorant and semi-barbarous population; and this course will go on, until riots and revolts compel the

Turkish garrisons to employ force in the restoration of order. The cruelties of the infidels will be then proclaimed and exaggerated;—the mediating remonstrances of Russia will compel the removal of the Turkish troops;—a nominal supremacy and a petty tribute will be guaranteed for a few years to the Porte;—and a new and most important province will be added to the rule of the Russian consuls.

The people of Bulgaria are less civilized than those of Servia; but there also the same system is in progress. Popular disorders have more than once occurred, similar in character to those which originated the existing order of things in Servia. They have been suppressed; they will again break out and be suppressed again; but the course of events will proceed; and Bulgaria, added to Servia, will give to Russia the whole range of Northern Turkey to the frontiers of Bosnia. This line of policy will be attended with no hostile aggression on the part of Russia; no cause or pretext of war in any quarter; but internal disorders will exist in the provinces, and gradually produce their natural effect. In due time, the throne of the Sultan will be endangered in his capital. In all internal and foreign difficulties, Russia will be invoked as a friend; her powerful aid will be called in to suppress evils, which it may not be impossible that on some occasions she may have herself created; and when she ultimately seizes the Dardanelles, it will be in the name, at the request, and for the preservation, of the Sultan.



As the result of these gradual invasions, Austria perceives at this moment that one great mass of her territory, comprising Hungary, Transylvania, and Gallicia, is actually enclosed on three sides by provinces which receive the law of their conduct from the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Neither can she view this close approximation of so powerful a neighbour—in itself sufficiently alarming—without some apprehension as to a peculiar point of internal weakness connected therewith, existing in her own dominions. In Hungary, in Transylvania, and in Gallicia, the general feeling is no doubt strongly opposed to Russia; and, far from aiding the views of that ambitious power, it would be exerted to the uttermost in support of any attempt to reduce the extent of her domination, especially on the side of Poland; but it cannot be forgotten that in all those states and their appendages, more particularly in Southern Hungary, Sclavonia, and Croatia, a considerable portion of the population professes that form of faith, the oriental Greek, which constitutes the established religion of Russia. Hence arises a species of sympathy which has been greatly serviceable to Russian policy in other quarters, and which must be a source of increasing disquietude as the two empires come more closely in contact. Even at the present moment, the able diplomacy of Russia is said not to be blind to this important element of future power. Under the Austrian sceptre, the Greek hierarchy and their flocks enjoy indeed a full equality of civil rights, and to a

certain extent peculiar privileges and endowments : but still the church of Rome is the great and opulent establishment of the state. This they perceive with no friendly feeling : while, on the other hand, they do not forget, and in some parts it is believed that they are *not allowed to forget*, that wheresoever the power of the Czar extends, there the Greek is the favoured, if not the dominant religion.

It cannot be doubted that Austria must have perceived with painful anxiety these gradual approaches of her mighty neighbour ; and that she would long since have sought to arrest their progress, had her position in Europe enabled her to do so. But Austria could not act alone ; and little could she expect a frank co-operation from the western powers. The cordial aid of England she could hardly anticipate, while she perceived her conduct and her principles systematically assailed by the reproaches and invectives, not of individuals only, but even of senators and statesmen ; and this, too, accompanied or followed by an arrangement of foreign policy, the avowed object of which was, on the basis of differences in the theory of internal government, to array the western against the eastern states of Europe. Whatever may have been in other respects the merits or demerits of the policy thus pursued by England, one result could not fail to attend it : it cut off from Austria, at the most critical period, the means and the hope of forming with her, for their common interests an intimate and confidential alliance.

On the side of France the alienation from Austria has been still greater. The competition for the command of Italy would have alone sufficed to have prevented any cordiality of union : but, besides, France has been known to pursue her objects by means less scrupulous and justifiable than we may hope would be always adopted in England ; and one of those means has ever been the excitement of internal commotions in other countries. In regard to the Italian provinces of Austria, that restless desire of creating discontents which prevails among the people of France has been not unfrequently held up by their government as a menace *in terrorem* over Austria, and has had its necessary effect. Austria, dreading the encroachments of Russia, has dreaded still more strongly the disturbing forces of the western powers ; and that involuntary bond of concord which has been termed the union of the despotic principle has been of late years little more than the instinct of self-preservation. It would have been the height of temerity in Austria to have incurred the hostility of Russia, with all its train of probable consequences,—increased financial exigencies—augmented armies—invasion of her Hungarian frontier,—with other points to which I will not now allude ; while her Lombard provinces would be threatened by the arms or the intrigues of France, and while England might see their invasion or their disorganization, possibly with pleasure, at all events with indifference.

Pressed by these considerations, it has been the

endeavour of Austria to sustain, as far as she could, the integrity of the Ottoman empire, without endangering the friendship of Russia. Had she been inclined to increase her own dominions at the expense of Turkey, she has had ample pretext for doing so, since not a year passes without her frontier towards Bosnia being invaded by the half-civilised subjects of the Porte; and whenever her complaints have been urged at Constantinople, the reply has mainly consisted in expressions of regret that the Sultan has not the power to control the ferocious borderers, and the desire that Austria would take their punishment into her own hands. Yet Austria has contented herself with the castigation of the immediate assailants, without ever extending the limits of her own territory. She was no party to the disorganization of the Grecian provinces, or to the establishment of that feeble kingdom, in the creation of which she may have only viewed an additional lever for the power of Russia. By appointing a consul in Servia, and by the exertion of all the influence she can muster, both at Constantinople and at Athens, she seeks to compete with Russian predominance;\* and where she has been cen-

\* The fatal delusion which has prevailed as to the nature of the alliance between Austria and Russia has led to the unfortunate policy which England has pursued in Greece. We have set ourselves in vehement opposition to what was termed the Austrian influence—an influence with which our own should have combined, as it was really and substantially, although not avowedly or ostentatiously, opposed to the progress of Russia. The able

sured for a weak or a culpable connivance in allowing the establishment of the Czar on both banks of the Danube, it will have been seen that she has yielded to the compulsion of circumstances which she could not control. It may be hoped that England is at length awakening to a sense of her real interests, and that, before it be too late, her altered policy may regain the confidence of Austria. Should this unhappily not be the case, and should Austria still be pressed by circumstances which she cannot command, Russia will continue to advance—she will in due time seize the Dardanelles—and Austria, unsupported, will be unable to resist her progress. Compelled to sustain her apparent friendship with Russia, she will observe an anxious and painful neutrality. She will preserve a nominal freedom for the mouths of the Danube, while Russia acquires the dominant influence over Bulgaria and Servia, and renders Turkey her vassal. At length the Sultan will be compelled to relinquish even a nominal sovereignty over his European dominions; and Austria, by an involuntary concert with Russia, will be forced to accept some portion of the spoils—probably Bosnia and Albania—for the permission to Russia to seize the rest. England and

diplomacy of the Czar remained in apparent inactivity, but in reality fanning the flame of discord, while that of Austria and of England competed for the predominant influence over the mind and government of Otho; until, after both were exhausted in the conflict, Russia took possession of the field, and has established an ascendancy which it will be very difficult to shake.

France will remonstrate and demonstrate—but the evil will be done. The Dardanelles will have been secured. The kingdom of Greece may probably disappear from the list of separate states; and, either by direct incorporation with Russia, or by the reconstruction of a nominally distinct Byzantine empire under her control, European Turkey, with the nearer Asiatic provinces, pass ere long to the domination of the Russian sceptre.

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Our notices of Austria are now concluded; but, having, with reference thereto, had occasion to trace the progress of Russian aggrandizement in Eastern Europe, it may not be inapposite to subjoin a few observations on our immediate British interests as menaced thereby, and on the policy by which its further progress may be arrested.

It has been sometimes inquired whether the interests of England be in reality likely to experience any material injury from the invasions of Russia on the power of Turkey. It has been asserted that the immensity of our inland consumption renders us mainly independent of external demand; and that, with our rapid increase of population, that consumption will, under wise government, be proportionably augmented. Let it be remembered, however, that

16

the annual value of our exports is now nearly fifty millions sterling; that of one article, cotton, alone, upwards of three hundred millions of pounds weight are every year moulded by our machinery into manufactured commodities, whereof a full moiety is sent across the ocean in search of consumers; and that, in every other branch of industry also, the accumulated powers of mechanism, capital, and intelligence are combined, to augment the vastness of our production. Let these circumstances be borne in mind, and it will be seen how largely we depend on external markets, and consequently on foreign and colonial commerce. We are in fact pressed by the necessity, not only of permitting no diminution of our actual consumers, but even of continually increasing their numbers in order to keep pace with our own accumulating energies of supply; and this necessity is the more strongly enforced on our attention, when we perceive rivals arising around us, and seeking to engross even those markets which were formerly our own. If we look to Germany, we see nearly the whole of it comprised under the control of Prussia, in a system essentially anti-English. If we extend our view further, to that great power whose policy we have been more immediately contemplating, we perceive that wheresoever Russia has gained on other nations, there she has established an ascendancy for herself, both commercial and political. With a view to the protection of native industry, she excluded British manufactures from Poland, as well as from her more

ancient territories ; and even to Prussia, her close ally, she refuses a renewal of the conventions under which Prussian manufactures have been admitted in past years on a favoured footing into Russian Asia. As she presses upon Turkey, the same principle guides her policy, and is only modified in action by the imperfectness of her power. Under the treaty of Adrianople, she has secured to herself commercial privileges over the whole of Turkey, unpossessed by any other nation ; and her recent proceedings at the mouth of the Danube and along the shores of Circassia evince her inclination to bend even dubious and constructive rights to her own exclusive advantage. These circumstances afford sufficient grounds for very serious reflection, even in their immediate effect of circumscribing the number of markets which we have formerly supplied. They acquire a still higher importance, when viewed in their political bearing, as the evidences of power already obtained, and the means of its future augmentation. Foreign and colonial commerce—that, at any rate, of a nation marked out like our own for the rivalry of the world—can be supported only by a preponderance of political power : colonies, such as those of England, must be retained by a naval superiority which defies competition : and, with regard to the trade between independent nations, experience shows that it is far less regulated by the asserted reciprocity of mere demand and supply, than by those political considerations which take a more complicated, though possi-



bly not a juster view, of international interests. Where great nations, moreover, struggle for ascendancy, it is not on the mere arena of the conflict that its results are experienced. The state of the new world is immediately connected with the events of the old; and any considerable change in the relative power, however local, of two important European nations, would greatly affect their relative interests and influence in every quarter of the globe. Already has the silent march of Russian policy secured a triumphant supremacy at the court of Teheran, and brought her influence into immediate and most dangerous contact with our Asiatic possessions. Already is she exclusively predominant in the northern provinces of European Turkey; and the time may be not far distant when she shall be called on, as the protecting friend of the Porte, and at its especial request, to station a military force on the Bosphorus, and to garrison the castles of the Dardanelles. Her fleet of thirty sail-of-the-line may then descend at pleasure to the Mediterranean, while the voice of her imperial command is re-echoed across the Asiatic continent from the Hellespont to the Indus.

Although these new aggressions, like those which have preceded them, might be made under the garb of friendship and the plea of necessity, yet it may be predicted that England would hardly remain a passive spectator while they were in progress; still less that she would allow it to be proclaimed to distant lands, that, in those seas which

have been the scene of her glory and her power, the standard of St. George has bowed before the eagle of the Czar. But if such may be anticipated as the high determination of England, it becomes the more expedient that she provide, before it be too late, such alliances as may most effectively assist her views. Without any wish to disparage the value of a cordial union with France, it may be fairly doubted whether, in circumstances so difficult, such an union is in itself practicable between two great nations whose most important interests, however at times combined for some temporary purpose, are in themselves materially opposed. Amid the complications of the eastern entanglements are comprised the question of Egyptian independence, with all its train of consequences—the new relations of France arising out of her colonization of Algiers—and her evident tendency to extend her African possessions, at the expense of the states to the east and to the west. As the disorganization of Turkey advances, either of these points, to say nothing of others to which I am unwilling now to allude, might too probably sever her apparent cordiality with England; while the progress of Russia would not improbably give rise to new combinations utterly opposite to those which now exist. That such might not be the case, that England might even in that event have the benefit of French co-operation, must be the desire of every British statesman; but this desire will not render him blind to the opposite contingency, or paralyze his efforts to provide against its results.

Very different is the position of Austria: her interests are, on this great question, the same as our own, and no commercial or colonial rivalry tends to impede their full operation. Among political errors, none has been greater than the idea that Turkey could be secured, or Russia be arrested in her progress, by the development of merely naval resources. It is by the concurrent aid of military means, or of diplomacy resting on military means, that these great objects can be alone attained, if indeed we may yet venture to look for their attainment; and Austria is the only power who, from her mighty military organization and her central locality, might, if supported by the western nations, be still successful in the lists. Should it be possible to bring her powerful means into full co-operation with those of England, and, as we may hope, with those of France also, it may not be even yet too late to regain the forfeited confidence of the Turkish sovereign, and to sustain the independence of the Ottoman empire.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

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WHILE these sheets have been in progress through the press, the march of events has been rapidly onwards.

In Servia, another act has been performed of the drama which is to conclude in the entire subjugation of that important principality to Russia. When Prince Milosch was placed at the head of the civil government, it was settled that his two sons should be sent for their education to Petersburg. This education, with its attendant train of opinions and attachments, having been completed as to the eldest son, and in progress as to the second, the father has been displaced, and the younger prince (in consequence of the sudden decease of his elder brother) nominated to succeed him, with a council of regency during his minority. The immediate circumstances which have in appearance led to the change are in themselves immaterial. Whatsoever they may have been, they tend to popular dissension, political disorganization, and an increased expediency for Russian interference: and if (as has, I know not on what authority, been suggested) an anti-Russian influence takes to itself credit for the movement, this would only form an additional instance to the many which have come under my notice, of that admirable adroitness with which Russia renders her opponents the unconscious instruments of her own designs.

Further towards the East, the outbreak of hostilities between the sultan and the viceroy, in defiance

of the *asserted* determination of all the European states to prevent them,—the untimely decease of Mahmoud at the precise period when those hostilities commenced,—and the decisive victory since obtained by the Egyptian over the Ottoman forces—all give reason to apprehend the approach of that period when the interests of nations now in nominal alliance may stand in opposition to each other; and when, unless a great change take place in the relations and practice of European diplomacy at Constantinople, Russia will take her permanent station on the shores of the Hellespont. Whether or not the further progress of hostile conflict be suspended for a time—whether or not the semblance of a mutual compact be arranged between the leading European powers—still, crippled resources and financial penury, popular agitation without, and courtly intrigue within, will combine to subvert what little of stability yet remains to the Ottoman throne; and circumstances, over which neither he nor his native advisers have any control, will too probably render the youthful sovereign dependent, even for his personal safety, on the protection of the Czar.

Aware of the embarrassments to which, in various ways, these occurrences may lead, the Austrian government appear to be pursuing a wise and judicious course. They have republished in all the provinces those laws which establish universal toleration, and prohibit proselytising practices and controversial preachings; especially commanding their rigorous enforcement, against the Romish as against the

non-Romish clergy. In Hungary, with a respect for constitutional law, of which the last century affords few examples, they have assembled the diet at the exact period enjoined by the statutes; and have confined the “Royal Propositions” to objects on which no opposition can be fairly expected. They are augmenting the military force in the vicinity of those provinces which, although nominally Turkish, are essentially Russian; and generally throughout the empire they are taking the most vigorous measures to supply whatsoever may be defective in the numerical or material efficiency of the army.

On the subject of Turkey, it is not easy to foresee the precise line of policy which the force of circumstances may compel Austria to adopt. There can be no doubt of her *desire* to sustain what yet remains of Ottoman independence; or of the eagerness with which, had the relations between the two countries enabled her to do so, she would have combined her strongest efforts with those of England, in an honest concert to avert that consummation which appears to be approaching. Whether there be enough of mutual confidence and of political sagacity to admit of such a concert being won effected—whether, if effected, it would be now successful—or whether Austria may be driven by the dubious policy of the Western powers to adopt that other alternative to which in the last chapter allusion has been made;—these are momentous questions on which I abstain from offering an opinion.

THE END.









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